

Anne Bailey in West Virginia Tradition

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I

Meet Anne Bailey

"Israel had her Deborah; Spain delights to dwell upon the memory of Isabella; while France glories in the names of Joan of Arc and Lavalette. . . . But the Western heroines of our own land . . . displayed more true courage than any examples in ancient times or in modern history beyond our own land."¹ Thus wrote Virgil A. Lewis, chief biographer of the border heroine, Anne Bailey. Lewis continued: "England gave her birth; Virginia, a field of action; Ohio has her dust."²

More specifically Anne Bailey is known as the "Pioneer Heroine of the Great Kanawha Valley."³ But this modest and reasonable title seems almost prim amidst an array of extravagant and colorful phrases. Rare indeed are simple homey terms such as the "Mother Ann" of one early writer.⁴ More to the nineteenth-century taste are literary and classical allusions such as: "She was a veritable Meg Merriles . . . a thorough gypsy in look, habit and vagabondage."⁵ The genius of Sir Walter Scott has immortalized Meg Merriles but "in the Ohio Valley there arose a woman, if such she might be called, more remarkable in career, more strange and wild in character than Jean Gordon [original from whom Scott drew Meg Merriles of *Guy Mannering*] ever was."⁶

Writers delved deeper into history and folk lore and Anne became the Semiramis of America.⁷ Now Semiramis was hardly motherly, nor was she gypsy-like in character, being an

¹ Virgil A. Lewis, *Life and Times of Anne Bailey* (Charleston, W. Va.: The Butler Printing Company, 1891), p. 2.

² *Ibid.*, p. 87.

³ Virgil A. Lewis, "Anne Bailey," *The State Gazette* [Point Pleasant, West Virginia], October 10, 1901, p. 6.

⁴ "Mad Ann the Huntress," *United States Magazine*, III (September, 1836), p. 227.

⁵ Charles McKnight, *Our Western Border* (Philadelphia: J. C. McCurdy and Company, 1839), p. 109.

⁶ Augustus Lacey Mason, *The Romance and Tragedy of Pioneer Life* (Cincinnati, Ohio: Jones Brothers and Company, 1883), p. 401.

⁷ *Hardesty's Historical and Geographical Encyclopedia, Mason County, West Virginia, Putnam County, West Virginia, Northwestern Ohio, Lawrence County* (Chicago: H. H. Hardesty and Company, 1883), p. 9.

ancient Assyrian queen, famous for her administrative skill and military prowess.⁶

Tributes, classical or otherwise, continued to pour from nineteenth-century pens and were often more enthusiastic than fitting. ". . . I would see a figure blazoned there more clearly with that of Jean d'Arc or Boadica; Isabella or Daronardla; Theodosea or Martin Luther; it is that of Ann Bailey."⁷ The excessive admiration overflows a few paragraphs later: "Sir Galahad on his white charger adventuring forth in search of the Holy Grail does not lay stronger hold upon our imagination than does this lone woman . . . riding . . . in the holy cause of freedom."⁸

But Anne's admirers kept abreast of the times. The turning away of the American literary mind from romantic and classical themes to the American scene is reflected in the tributes paid to Anne Bailey. At the turning of the century, homespun heroes were in vogue, and Anne's admirers kept apace: ". . . this woman's courage and bravery is of the same stuff and ranks with . . . the hero Crockett of the Alamo fame."⁹ ". . . she exhibited the loyalty of a Paul Revere and the courage of a Betty Zane."¹⁰ "She hunted, rode alone through the wilderness, and fought the Indian like a Boone or a Kenton."¹¹ ". . . Anne Bailey was herself a Daughter of the Revolution."¹²

In 1953, Julius de Gruyter made Anne's story as modern as tomorrow's television set. She became "the original girl scout"¹³ and "one of our early 'career women'.¹⁴

Who was this woman of whom such extravagant things were written? What is the most effective manner in which to review the large but scattered body of printed matter concerning her?

⁶ Charles Mills Gayley, *The Classic Myths* (New York: Ginn and Company, 1911), p. 369.

⁷ Mrs. James B. Hopley, "Anne Sargent Bailey," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications*, VI (1907), p. 341.

⁸ Lillian Russell Messenger, "Anne Bailey," *Ann Bailey, Thrilling Adventures of the Heroine of the Great Kanawha Valley*, Mrs. Livia Poffenbarger, editor and publisher (Point Pleasant, West Virginia, 1907), p. 5.

⁹ Samuel Harden Miller, *Ohio Builds a Nation* (Lower Salem, Ohio: The Arlen-dale Book House, 1899), p. 69.

¹⁰ Joseph Hughes, *Pioneer West Virginia* (Charleston, West Virginia: Published by the author, 1882), p. 89.

¹¹ Virgil A. Lewis, "Some Notes About Anne Bailey," *The State Gazette* (Point Pleasant, West Virginia), October 24, 1891, p. 1.

¹² Julius A. de Gruyter, *The Kanawha Spectator* (Charleston, West Virginia: Standard Printing Company, 1899), p. 126.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

II

The Plan for this Study

The story of Anne Bailey, as it has come down to us by word of mouth and in print, affords an interesting study of a legend-in-the-making. Since her death in 1825, the events of her simple, yet heroic, life have been told and retold in poetry and in prose, in drama, and on the radio. Road markers and memorials in three states attest the fact that Anne Bailey passed this way. School children read about her career as a scout and about her alleged ride to save Fort Lee (now Charleston, West Virginia) from the Indians.¹⁷

As far as documentary evidence is concerned, little is actually known about Anne Bailey, but a wealth of incident, factual or otherwise, has attached itself to the story of her life. Magazines, newspaper files, history books, and the publications of historical societies preserve for us the few known facts of her career. They preserve for us, also, the accumulation of embellishment that has exaggerated her story to fantastic proportions. It is the purpose of this study to sift the probable elements from the improbable and by so doing to demonstrate how the tradition grew.

In preparing the study, it seemed expedient first to give briefly the most reasonable and acceptable account of Anne's life and use this as a basis from which to present the varied and colorful versions that have appeared in the one hundred twenty-nine years since her death. This "most acceptable account" was found to be a composite story as told by Virgil A. Lewis and amended by Roy Bird Cook.¹⁸

The reasonable and acceptable account of Anne's life is followed by variations of the story. The variations fall naturally into seven divisions, or chapters: first, stories of her early

¹⁷ As concerns the telling of the story for school children, the reader is referred to the following: *Sylvia Boupart, Stories of West Virginia for Boys and Girls* (Charleston, West Virginia: West Virginia University, Jarrett Printing Company, 1934), pp. 32-34; *Charles Henry Ambler, West Virginia Stories and Biographies* (New York: Rand McNally and Company, 1937), p. 109; *Virginia Debsfield, Notes on West Virginia History* (Charleston, West Virginia: Kanawha County Schools, 1942), p. 28. The telling and retelling of the story comprise the burden of this writing and the many versions will be fully established and documented in the course of the study.

¹⁸ Virgil A. Lewis, *Life and Times*; Virgil A. Lewis, "Anne Bailey, the Pioneer Heroine of the Great Kanawha Valley," *The State Gazette* (Point Pleasant, West Virginia), October 10, 1931; Roy Bird Cook, *The Annals of Fort Lee* (Charleston, West Virginia: The West Virginia Review Press, 1935).

life to the death of her first husband; second, eleven years of scouting; third, marriage to her second husband; fourth, the ride upon which her fame rests; fifth, the period following the Indian wars; sixth, her last years; and seventh, description and personality. With each division, the matter treated is arranged in chronological order, insofar as the nature of the material would permit. Each departure from the accepted account is given but once, the huge bulk of printed matter precluding the tracing of each variant through the years from its first appearance in print to its last.

The eleventh chapter deals with markers and memorials dedicated to Anne's memory. Included in this chapter are accounts of two instances of dramatization of the story, one being a radio presentation, the other, one episode of an historical pageant.

Also included in chapter eleven is some mention of Anne's descendants. This, however, is restricted to those who are engaged in literary pursuits.

Virgil A. Lewis, whose account of Anne's life is used as a basis for this study, was admirably equipped to tell the Anne Bailey story. He was born in Mason County, then a part of Virginia, in 1848, only twenty-three years after Anne Bailey's death.¹⁹ His childhood and youth were spent in the vicinity of Point Pleasant where tales of Anne's heroic deeds and eccentric ways were on every tongue. Lewis wrote: "As a child the incidents of her life . . . thrilled my childish heart and forty years ago I learned and jotted down the recitals which I then heard of her."²⁰

Lewis studied law and was admitted to the West Virginia bar, but found history and literature more to his liking than the practice of law.²¹ In 1890 he organized the West Virginia Historical and Antiquarian Society.²² Later he prepared the bill creating the Department of Archives and History,²³ and in due time became the first Archivist of West Virginia.²⁴ These

¹⁹ Thomas Condit Miller and Hu Maxwell, *West Virginia and Its People* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1913), II, p. 185.

²⁰ Lewis, "Anne Bailey," p. 6.

²¹ Miller, p. 182.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid., p. 188.

²⁴ Ibid.

facts are given as evidence of Lewis's qualifications as historian and biographer.

There are three reasons for accepting the Lewis-Cook version of Anne's life as the most authentic. First, Lewis's interest was life long, and his published material about Anne covered a period of nineteen years. The story varies little, however, from his first published version in 1891 to his last account in 1910.²⁵ Lewis included in his *Life and Times of Anne Bailey* statements of several persons who remembered Anne from their childhood days. A partial listing of these includes Dr. C. C. Forbes,²⁶ Mr. James H. Holloway,²⁷ Mrs. Mary McCulloch,²⁸ and Mrs. Mary Irion, granddaughter of Anne Bailey.²⁹ This listing is not complete and is presented only as evidence of the fact that Lewis was closer, over a long period of time, to the scene of Anne's exploits than were other writers in the field and hence was better equipped to tell her story than many who preceded him, as well as those who followed him. It must be noted, however, that Lewis wrote prior to Roy Bird Cook's investigation of the pay-rolls of Fort Lee; official state records left by George and William Clendenin, pertaining to Fort Lee,³⁰ and the large collection of manuscripts, pertaining to the Kanawha Valley area, now preserved by the Wisconsin Historical Society in Madison, Wisconsin.³¹

A second reason for accepting the Lewis account as basic is the fact that Dr. Cook, after the search of manuscripts noted above, stated: "The best general account, however, is to be found in the *Life and Times of Anne Bailey* by the late V. A. Lewis, one-time State Historian and Archivist."³² Other prominent historians who follow, generally, the Lewis version are Morris P. Shawkey,³³ Phil Conley,³⁴ and Charles Henry Ambler.³⁵

²⁵ The last article published by Lewis was a sketch entitled "Anne Bailey." This appeared in *The Magazine of History*, March 10, 1910, pp. 126-128. Re-prints of Lewis' articles appeared after his death.

²⁶ Lewis, *Life and Times*, pp. 69-70.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

²⁹ Cook, *Annals*, pp. 83, 84, 90.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 95.

³³ Morris P. Shawkey, *West Virginia* (Chicago and New York: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1928), I, pp. 38-42; II, pp. 106, 317.

³⁴ Phil Conley, *Beacon Lights of West Virginia History* (Charleston, West Virginia: West Virginia Publishing Company, 1933), pp. 58-59, 116.

³⁵ Charles Henry Ambler, *West Virginia, the Mountain State* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1940), p. 162.

A third reason for considering the Lewis account as the most reliable is that Mr. Harry S. Irion, great-great-grandson of Anne, has worked since 1951 collecting and sifting all information relating to her. Mr. Irion says: "After a wide and rather thorough examination of practically every thing that has been written about her I am persuaded to believe that the most reliable information is found among the older writers.... Personally I place greatest weight in the writings of Mr. Lewis."³⁶

III

The Lewis-Cook Version

Anne Bailey was born Anne Hennis in Liverpool, England.³⁷ She was not sure of the exact date, but remembered being taken to London when she was five years old. While there she saw the execution of Lord Lovat. This event occurred in 1747, which places Anne's birthdate in the year 1742. Her father was a soldier in Queen Anne's wars and, according to Lewis, Anne Hennis was named for Queen Anne.

The tradition popular in Virginia and most acceptable to Mr. Lewis was that Anne learned to read and write in Liverpool and that her parents died while she was yet in her teens. She thought of friends in America and came, in 1761, to Staunton, Virginia, where she lived with a family named Bell. She was then nineteen years of age.

Soon after her arrival in America, Anne met Richard Trotter, a young frontiersman and survivor of Braddock's campaign. Anne and Richard were married in 1765, and established their home in Augusta County, Virginia. They had one child, a son named William, who was born in 1767.

It was in the year 1774, when the savages were threatening the frontier, that Anne embarked upon her strange career by encouraging the men to enlist to fight the Indians.

Richard Trotter enlisted in the army to continue the struggle against the Indians. He fought in the battle of Point Pleasant and was killed in that encounter. Anne had married at the

³⁶ Harry S. Irion, letter to the author, Dec. 7, 1953.

³⁷ In this chapter, unless otherwise noted, the facts are taken from Lewis, *Life and Times of Anne Bailey*, pp. 1-6, 2, *passim*.

age of twenty-three, was widowed at thirty-two, and remained a widow for eleven years.

Anne left William with a neighbor, Mrs. Moses Mann, and started in earnest her recruiting of soldiers—soldiers to fight the Indians and the British. "Clad in buckskin pants, with petticoat, heavy brogan shoes, a man's coat and hat, a belt about the waist in which was worn the hunting knife, and with rifle on her shoulder, she went from one recruiting station to another. . . ." The country from the Potomac to the Roanoke was her field of action and before the Revolution ended she was famous along the border.

After the Revolution, she carried messages from Staunton to the distant pioneer forts; and when Fort Savannah (now Lewisburg, West Virginia) was established, she carried messages to that station. From Lewisburg to Point Pleasant was a distance of one hundred sixty miles. Soon Anne had pushed westward to Point Pleasant, the scene of her husband's death.

On November 3, 1785, Anne married John Bailey at Lewisburg. According to Lewis, Bailey was a well-known border soldier and scout. The Reverend John McCue performed the ceremony. Anne was then forty-three years of age.

George Clendenin acquired land on the Kanawha River, at the present site of Charleston, West Virginia, and in 1788 erected a blockhouse which was called Fort Lee. "Here then was another fort to be garrisoned and to it John Bailey went on duty, taking with him to reside therein, his now famous bride." Anne became a messenger from Fort Randolph (Point Pleasant) to Fort Lee.

In 1790 Colonel George Clendenin received a warning from Point Pleasant that the savages were expected momentarily to attack the settlements on the Kanawha. And in January, 1791, Colonel Clendenin addressed a letter to Governor Randolph of Virginia asking for four scouts "to alarm the inhabitants of the approach of the enemy so as to collect together to secure themselves from savage cruelty."

Then Colonel Clendenin received the information that a large body of savages were approaching the fort. While preparing for the defense of the fort, Colonel Clendenin discovered

that the supply of powder was almost exhausted. He informed the garrison of the situation and asked for volunteers to go to Lewisburg for powder. The men gazed at each other in dismay. Anne said, "I will go."

She rode to Lewisburg and brought back the powder in time to save the fort. She was then forty-nine years of age. As a token of gratitude, the soldiers of the garrison gave her the black horse she had ridden and she named him "Liverpool" in honor of her birthplace.

It is interesting to note and of importance in the unfolding of the Anne Bailey tradition that a road had been completed in 1786 from Lewisburg to Charleston.

Indian hostilities in the Kanawha Valley area ceased with the signing of the Treaty of Greenville in 1795,³⁸ and Anne's services as a scout were no longer needed.

"After her famous ride from Fort Lee to Lewisburg, Anne Bailey appears to have abandoned all thought of fixed habitation, and thenceforth, mounted on her favorite horse, 'Liverpool', she ranged all the country from Point Pleasant to Staunton." She became a kind of express agency, taking orders along the Kanawha and as far west as Gallipolis and bringing from Staunton or Lewisburg the goods ordered. She drove hogs and cattle from the Shenandoah and is said to have brought the first tame geese, nineteen of them, from the Greenbrier region into the Kanawha Valley for Captain William Clendenin. Anne was shrewd and when Captain Clendenin refused to pay for the geese, having ordered twenty, Anne drew a dead goose from a bag, threw it on the ground, and received her money. In connection with this story, it is well to remember that Lewis was writing from stories which he had heard as a boy, stories which were part of an oral tradition. It is difficult to conceive of twenty geese being driven on foot, across rugged mountains and unbridged streams for a hundred miles, that being the approximate distance from Lewisburg, Greenbrier County, to the Kanawha area.

It was while Anne was engaged in this express business that her second husband died. The exact time of his death is not

³⁸ *Another West Virginia*, p. 282.

known. Lewis states simply that his death is believed to have occurred in 1802.

In the years following Bailey's death, Anne continued her wanderings, bringing goods to the settlers, visiting with friends, hunting, and fishing. But Lewis tells little of a concrete nature concerning this period of Anne's life. One incident, however, deserves special mention. That is the occasion of Anne's last visit to Charleston—a visit which was made in the summer of 1817. Lewis quoted two witnesses, both of whom claimed to have seen Anne walking from Point Pleasant to Charleston, a distance of approximately seventy miles. Anne was at that time seventy-five years old.

Anne's son, William, had grown to manhood and had married. Anne lived with him at Point Pleasant for three years. In 1818, William bought land in Harrison Township, Gallia County, Ohio. When William selected a home site back from the Ohio River, about six miles from the present site of Clipper's Mills, Anne refused to go with him. Instead, she went to Gallipolis and built with her own hands a hut of fence rails. She lived here for a short time, William finally inducing her to go to his farm, where he built a separate house for her.

On the night of November 22, 1825, Anne died in her sleep. Two of her granddaughters were with her. She was buried in the Trotter graveyard.

On October 24, 1901, an article by Lewis was published in *The State Gazette* at Point Pleasant. In this article Lewis told of the reinterment, under the auspices of the Daughters of the American Revolution, of Anne's remains in Tu-Endie-Wei State Park at Point Pleasant in 1901. This was on the one hundred twenty-seventh anniversary of the Battle of Point Pleasant.²²

Lewis wrote at length of Anne's personal qualities. She was skilled with the rifle, rode well, and cared for the sick. In her later years, she was a favorite of the French at Gallipolis. She "was 'Grandma' of all the children round about. Many of these she taught to read and to lisp the prayers of childhood for she was a noble, virtuous, Christian woman."²³

²² Lewis, "Anne Notes," p. 1.
²³ Lewis, "Anne Bailey," p. 8.

Anne has been accused by many writers of being over-fond of alcoholic drink and of being exceedingly profane in her speech. Lewis stated that he made "careful inquiry of more than a dozen persons," all of whom had known Anne, and found no evidence of her ever having been intoxicated, although he admits that she would "take a drink." Neither did he find any evidence of profanity.

In her years of scouting, Anne had many adventures. Lewis relates two of these stories. At one time, while riding through the wilderness she came across a band of Indians. She dismounted and crawled into a hollow log. The Indians took her horse. When night fell, she trailed the Indians to their camp, took Liverpool, sprang to his back, and uttering a yell of defiance, dashed away to safety.

On another occasion, Anne was caught in a snowstorm in the Allegheny Mountains. She crept into a hollow tree and "held her horse so that he constantly blew his breath upon her, and was thus saved from freezing."

The Indians considered Anne to be insane. Believing anyone afflicted with insanity to be under the special care of the Great Spirit, they had great respect for Anne. They called her the "White Squaw of the Kanawha."

Lewis died in 1912.⁴¹ This was before Dr. Roy Bird Cook published his studies of Anne Bailey and Fort Lee. In 1934 Dr. Cook published an article on Anne Bailey in the *West Virginia Review*. In this article he added some pertinent information to the Lewis story.⁴²

Dr. Cook located the home of Anne and Richard Trotter as being on Mad Anne's Ridge, near Barber, in what is now Allegheny County, Virginia.⁴³

John Bailey and Anne Trotter were both in the vicinity of Lewisburg prior to their marriage in 1785. The tradition is that after their marriage they remained (supposedly) in that locality until the erection of Fort Lee in 1788, at which time they

⁴¹ *Miller*, p. 282.

⁴² Roy Bird Cook, "Mad Anne Bailey at Fort Lee," *West Virginia Review*, XI (Aug., 1934), 298-300.

⁴³ *Idem*, p. 282.

came to the Kanawha area as a part of the garrison of Fort Lee. Yet the pay-rolls of Fort Lee do not carry the name of either John or Anne Bailey. John Bailey's name does appear, however, in the records of Kelly's Fort, present site of Cedar Grove. Later, he was transferred to a company of rangers under the command of Captain Hugh Caperton.⁴⁴

Bailey is believed to have died in 1802. Court records show that Anne Bailey, widow of John Bailey, appeared before the County Court on November 3, 1794 with the "will of the said John Bailey." Thus the court entries show that Bailey died in or about October, 1794.⁴⁵

Dr. Cook maintains that a vast amount of papers and documents relating to the Kanawha area do not mention a siege at Fort Lee, nor do they mention Anne Bailey. The papers studied include the records of Fort Lee, and the large collection of manuscripts at Madison, Wisconsin.⁴⁶ The papers, however, do carry the notation that the fort was twice menaced by the Indians, "but from the opposite side of the Kanawha River."⁴⁷

The reader should be reminded that of the material in the foregoing pages, little is of a factual nature, supported by documentary evidence. Rather, this material represents that which has been selected as the most reasonable and believable of a large body of oral tradition and of a considerable amount of printed matter. It should be remembered also that this sifting and selecting of acceptable matter was done by a man of legal training, well equipped to differentiate between what is spurious and what is sound. It seems safe, therefore, to conclude that there was an Anne Bailey, that she did serve as a scout in the Kanawha Valley area, that Fort Lee was threatened by the Indians, and that, quite possibly, Anne did bring powder from Lewisburg. Upon this meager foundation, the whole structure of the Anne Bailey tradition is built. As has been stated, it is the purpose of this study to show how that tradition grew.

⁴⁴ Roy Bird Cook, *The Annals of Fort Lee* (Charleston, West Virginia: West Virginia Review Press, 1925), pp. 82-83.
⁴⁵ Cook, "Mad Anne," p. 282.
⁴⁶ Cook, *Annals*, pp. 84-85.
⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

Anne's Early Life to Death of Trotter

The earliest known literary mention of Anne Bailey occurred in December, 1825, eleven days after her death, when her obituary was published in the *Gallia Free Press*, Gallia County, Ohio. The obituary was preserved in Henry Howe's *Historical Collections of Ohio*. James Harper, son of the publisher of the *Gallia Free Press*, found a copy of the obituary hidden away in family papers and gave it to Howe.⁴⁸

Concerning Anne's early life, the writer of the obituary had little to say. He mentioned only that Anne went with her mother from Liverpool to London in 1714, at which time she saw Lord Lovett [sic: correct spelling "Lovat"] beheaded.⁴⁹ Lewis, as has been noted, mentioned this trip to London, giving, however, the correct date of the execution as 1747.

Anne next appeared in print in 1826, this time in a book written by Mrs. Anne Royall. Mrs. Royall's book was entitled *Sketches of History, Life and Manners in the United States*. The book was a series of descriptions of places Mrs. Royall had visited in travels about the United States, plus sketches of a descriptive and biographical nature of interesting people whom she had met. The word pictures are brief and Anne is given approximately one and one-half pages. Concerning Anne's origin Mrs. Royall had nothing to say beyond a brief "This female is a Welch woman . . .".⁵⁰

Thirty-three years after the publication of Mrs. Royall's book, Anne's birthplace was mentioned in print, this time in a book by Emerson Bennett, which bore the colorful title of *Wild Scenes on the Frontier*. In this account Anne's birthplace was given. "She was a native of Liverpool, England, and in her younger, and perhaps better, days had been the wife of a British soldier."⁵¹

George W. Atkinson, in his *History of Kanawha County*, first mentioned the time of Anne's birth, placing it as "about the

⁴⁸ Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of Ohio* (Cincinnati, Ohio: C. J. Krehbiel and Company, 1828), I, p. 202.

⁴⁹ Anne Royall, *Sketches of History, Life and Manners in the United States* (New Haven: Printed for the Author, 1826), p. 49.

⁵⁰ Emerson Bennett, *Wild Scenes on the Frontier* (Philadelphia: Hamelin and Company, 1829), p. 202.

middle of the last century."⁵² More significant, from a literary point of view, than the approximation of the birthdate is the fact that Anne's story is gaining in stature and dignity. Her deeds are now recorded in a book of history.

Augustus Lyncy Mason, in his *Romance and Tragedy of Pioneer Life*, was specific (if not accurate) about Anne's birthdate. Mason gave also her maiden name as Hennis and added: "The creature of whom we write was born in Liverpool, England, about 1750."⁵³

In 1885 Anne's story was told by William P. Buell in the *Magazine of Western History*. Anne had been described at length in a magazine article in 1856, but this earliest mention in a magazine contained little of a biographical nature. Buell's account, however, was biographical and influenced later writers greatly. It did much to build the Anne Bailey tradition, especially as concerns her unusually long life. Buell wrote: "Anne Bailey was born . . . in the year 1700, and was named in honor of Queen Anne, and was present at her coronation in 1705 [sic: Queen Anne was actually crowned in 1702]. She was of good family, and her parents, whose name was Sargent, were people of some means."⁵⁴

By 1885 Anne's maiden name had been given as Hennis and Sargent. Two other names were to be bestowed upon her, Anne Dennis in 1902,⁵⁵ and Anne Hannis in 1927.⁵⁶

Writers agreed, almost unanimously, that Anne was born in Liverpool, England, the one exception being caused, perhaps, by a typographical error. Samuel Harden Stille, in his *Ohio Builds a Nation*, wrote: "She was born in Liverpool, London."⁵⁷

And how did Anne get to America? As has been shown, Lewis wrote that she came to America at the age of nineteen years—after the death of her parents. But earlier and more romantic writers were not content with such simple facts. It

⁵² George W. Atkinson, *History of Kanawha County* (Charleston, West Virginia: Printed at the Office of the West Virginia Journal, 1876), p. 134.

⁵³ Mason, p. 49.

⁵⁴ William P. Buell, "Ann Bailey," *Magazine of Western History*, March, 1885, p. 184.

⁵⁵ W. A. McAllister, "Pioneer Days in Allegheny County," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, X (January, 1902), p. 286.

⁵⁶ Harry Dorn in the *Herald-Advertiser* (Huntington, West Virginia), September 21, 1927.

⁵⁷ Stille, p. 47.

would seem almost that the early writers vied with each other as to which could produce the most colorful tale. Perhaps none tops the very earliest version, the account given in the magazine article of 1856, "Mad Anne, the Huntress." In this article it was written: "Of her antecedents little is known, except that she was the wife of a dissipated fellow [by the name of Bailey] who, while under the influence of liquor . . . enlisted in H.B.M.'s 7th foot and was immediately sent to America. . . ."⁵⁸ A specified number of wives were permitted to join their soldier husbands serving in the colonies, the selection was made by lottery. Bailey drew a lucky ticket, and Anne came to Virginia.⁵⁹

According to the second woman who wrote about Anne, Elizabeth F. Ellet, the trip to America was made under entirely different circumstances. Anne, at the age of thirty, married Richard Trotter and they came to the new world together, selling out as indentured servants to pay their passage.⁶⁰

The tales grew apace: "Her parents settled in the vicinity of Jamestown, where Anne, two brothers, and three sisters, grew up, having been educated and drilled from the cradle in the manners, customs, and hardships of frontier life. . . . at the age of nineteen, she packed her knapsack and started alone for the western frontier. After many days of laborious travel she reached Fort Union, at which place she took up her abode. Shortly after her arrival at Lewisburg, the fort was attacked by Indians and she displayed so much bravery and such remarkable generalship, that she was at once looked up to as a leader and commander."⁶¹ And further: "When powder and lead were to be brought from Point Pleasant, Williamsburg, or Chillicothe, Anne Bailey was generally sent."⁶²

Buell, who gave Anne's birthdate as 1700, also had a tale concerning her arrival in the Virginias. At the age of nineteen, Anne, while on her way home from school, was kidnapped, books and all, and brought to Virginia, on the James, at which place she was sold to defray her expenses. "After some years

⁵⁸ "Mad Anne," p. 236.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Elizabeth F. Ellet, *The Pioneer Women of the West* (Philadelphia: Porter and Coates, 1872), pp. 248-249.

⁶¹ Atkinson, p. 124.

⁶² Ibid., p. 125.

of search her parents found her whereabouts, and offered to send her means to return home, but she preferred the new world to the old, in which she figured conspicuously and heroically during a certain portion of her life."⁶³ Another statement by Buell which differs from the Lewis-Cook account, both as to the name of her first husband and as concerns her age at the time of her marriage, is that "At the age of thirty she married a man by the name of John Trotter . . ."⁶⁴

Twenty-two years after Buell's article appeared, the kidnapping story was repeated with embellishments. This version of the story, written by Mrs. James R. Hopley in an extravagant and bombastic style, was published in the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Publications* in 1907. Anne's story was gaining in prestige—if not in plausibility. Mrs. Hopley's addition to the kidnapping story was that Anne's grieving parents came to America in search of their long lost daughter, but that she "demonstrated her love for America by choosing this, rather than England, for her home, so that the Sargents returned without her."⁶⁵

Anne's story had already been recognized as matter suitable for inclusion in an historical publication when, in 1902, W. A. McAllister's "Pioneer Days in Allegheny County" was printed in *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*. McAllister gave her age, at the time of her coming to America, as thirteen. Also he wrote that at the age of twenty-three she married John Bailey.⁶⁶

Two other variations, concerning Anne's age at the time of her arrival in America and as concerns the name of her first husband, should be noted. In 1923 it was written that, at the age of twenty-three, Anne, married James Trotter.⁶⁷ And in 1931 her age on arriving in America was changed for the last time (to date) when it was written that she was eighteen years old when she came to this country.⁶⁸

The results of this study indicate that the newspapers did not become greatly interested in the Anne Bailey story until

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 554-555.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 555.

⁶⁵ *McAllister*, pp. 361-362.

⁶⁶ *I. F. Morrison*, p. 360.

⁶⁷ *McAllister*, p. 360.

⁶⁸ *McAllister*, p. 360.

⁶⁹ *McAllister*, p. 360.

⁷⁰ *McAllister*, p. 360.

⁷¹ *McAllister*, p. 360.

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²⁴⁰ *McAllister*, p. 360.

²⁴¹ *McAllister*

the late twenties. This is, of course, excepting the article by Lewis which appeared in *The State Gazette* in 1901. However, in 1927, the *Herald-Advertiser*, Huntington, West Virginia, carried a news story to the effect that Charleston needed an actress to play the part of Mad Anne Bailey in an historical pageant. In this article a suggestion was made to the effect that Anne came to America as a stowaway.⁶⁹

The stowaway hint was too rich in romantic possibilities to long lie dormant, and in 1935 George W. Summers wrote boldly that "After the death of her parents while she was still of school girl age, Anne shipped from Liverpool as a stowaway and came to America in search of relatives by the name of Bell who lived somewhere in the Virginia colony."⁷⁰

Writers were strangely reticent concerning Anne's only child, a brief sentence usually serving to dispose of the son. Buell, however, in 1885, remembered him: "They had but one child, a boy named William, who was born to them in their advanced age."⁷¹ Later this was rewritten by Mrs. Hopley: "They had one son, who was named William, to whom she was deeply attached, as was Sarah to Isaac, for he was born of her old age."⁷² Mrs. Hopley, influenced by Buell, had given Anne's birthdate as 1700. Lewis gave the date of William's birth as 1767, thus making Anne, according to Hopley, sixty-seven years old at the birth of her only child.

The death of Anne's first husband was generally accepted as having occurred on October 10, 1774 in the battle of Point Pleasant. Deviations were few. The 1856 story, however, related that Anne's first husband, the dissipated soldier named Bailey, was killed near the close of the campaign of 1870.⁷³ Another writer stated that James Trotter, Anne's husband, was with Andrew Lewis's army at Point Pleasant and was killed. This writer added that, judging from bar-room carvings, Lewis's army was believed to have stood almost to a man over six feet two inches tall.⁷⁴

⁶⁹ News item in the *Herald-Advertiser* (Huntington, West Virginia), September 25, 1927.

⁷⁰ George W. Summers, *Pages from the Past* (Charleston, West Virginia: Published by The Charleston Journal, 1935), p. 26.

⁷¹ Buell, p. 229.

⁷² Hopley, p. 242.

⁷³ "Mad Anne," p. 296.

⁷⁴ Theresa D. McClintic, "Mad Anne Bailey, Woman Scout of Virginia," *The Sunday Star*, Washington, D. C., January 10, 1932, Magazine Section, p. 4.

One further quotation concerning the death of Anne's first husband is of interest, first, because of the recent publication date which shows that Anne's story is still growing; and second, because the quotation may be considered as an attempt to explain Anne's extreme bitterness and desire for revenge. In December, 1953, Ruth Scott, writing in the *Richmond Times Dispatch*, had the following to say about Trotter's death: "Anne, who had followed her husband along the line of march, saw the massacre at Point Pleasant and witnessed the brutal slaying of Trotter."¹⁷⁸

A brief restatement of the variations occurring in the story of Anne's early life and a comparison of these variants with the Lewis story seems in order. It will be recalled that Lewis gave Anne's maiden name as Hennis. Other writers have given her name as Dennis, Hannis, and even Sargent.

That Anne was born in Liverpool, England, was almost unanimously accepted, but the identity of her first husband is a matter of considerable difference of opinion. The first mention of him is a vague statement that he was a British soldier. Then he becomes a dissipated soldier named Bailey. Other names followed, including Richard Trotter, John Trotter, John Bailey, and James Trotter.

The place of Anne's first marriage is indefinite, some stating that she was married in Liverpool, some in America.

Stories concerning the manner of Anne's coming to the colonies vary greatly from the reasonable statement by Lewis that, her parents having died, she came to Virginia to live with relatives. Romanticized versions relate that she came to America as the result of a lottery, that she was kidnapped and brought to America, that she came as a stowaway, and that she sold out as a bond-servant to pay her passage.

Lastly, the element of revenge is introduced into the story. This revenge motif is strong and will be encountered again and again as the story develops.

¹⁷⁸ Ruth B. Scott, "Mad Anne" Saved the Settlers from the Indians," *Richmond Virginian Times Dispatch*, October 25, 1953, Section A, p. 18.

V

Eleven Years of Scouting

As has been noted by Lewis, after the death of her first husband, Anne turned to scouting and recruiting soldiers to fight the Indians and British. The reporting of Anne's career as a wilderness scout and one-woman ammunition train was started with zest by Mrs. Anne Royall in *Sketches of History, Life, and Manners in the United States*, a book which has already been discussed. Mrs. Royall wrote:

At the time Gen. Lewis's army lay at the Point, a station on Kenhawa river, Ann would shoulder her rifle, hang her shot-pouch over her shoulder, and lead a horse laden with ammunition to the army, two hundred miles distant, when not a man could be found to undertake the perilous task—the way thither being perfect wilderness, and infested with Indians. I asked her if she was not afraid—she replied, 'No, she was not; she trusted the Almighty—she knew she could only be killed, and she had to die sometime.' I asked her if she never met with Indians in her various journeys, (for she went several times) 'Yes, she once met with two, and one of them said to the other, let us kill her, (as she supposed, from the answer of the other) no, said his companion, God dam, too good a soger, and let her pass;' 'but how,' said I, 'did you find the way'—'Steered by the trace of Lewis's army, and I had a pocket compass too.' 'Well, but how did you get over the water courses?'—Some she forded, and some she swam, on others she made a raft: she 'Halways carried a hax and a hauger, and she could chop as well as hany man;'⁷⁶

It seems well to point out at this time that this is the only account of Anne's scouting activities which connects her directly with the army of General Andrew Lewis. In 1953, Ruth B. Scott, as has been mentioned, related that Anne had followed her husband to Point Pleasant where she witnessed his death. However, Scott did not suggest that Anne served General Lewis as a scout.

Roving the wilderness as she did, Anne must have been skilled at making camp, and perhaps unique in her methods. At least it was so written.

When making camp at night, Anne would find a likely spot, ride half a mile beyond it, turn her pony loose, hide her saddle,

and retrace her steps "to the spot selected which is the foot of a large tree, whose roots afford a sort of niche in which she can recline and sleep. She then digs a hole about eighteen inches deep, and large enough to contain a small fire and allow room for her legs on either side of it. Striking a light, she builds a fire with dead twigs, which she carefully covers up. . . ."⁷⁷

Anne then takes her place between the roots of the tree, her back resting against the trunk. She places her legs in the trough she has dug, one leg on either side of the fire which is carefully covered with her petticoats, only a small opening for draught being left. She is now ready for her evening meal. Anne is fond of alcoholic beverages and as she eats, she drinks copiously from a flask which is her constant companion. ". . . in fact, it is doubtful if she ever parts with it."⁷⁸

Anne slept in the peculiar position described above. When morning dawned she called her "nag" with a peculiar whistle and was soon off on her errand through the wilderness.⁷⁹

As concerns the stories relating to Anne's overfondness for alcoholic drink, it is significant that in 1826, Mrs. Royall had written that Anne "begged a dram" of her.⁸⁰ In this brief phrase the tradition of Anne, as a hard-drinking woman, had its inception. When, thirty years later, in 1856, the story quoted above was published, Anne's reputation as a hard-drinker was firmly established. Interesting also is the fact that the first note of Anne's drinking was made by a woman. In no other instance is this phase of Anne's life mentioned by a woman writer.

During the Indian wars, Anne performed efficient services, carrying messages from Fort Young [near Covington, Virginia] to Point Pleasant, riding over steep mountains, through dense forests, and over rushing streams.⁸¹

The folklore motif of revenge occurs early in the development of the tradition and, as has been suggested, continues throughout the many versions of the tale. In 1873 Mrs. Ellet

⁷⁷ "Mad Ann," p. 238.
⁷⁸ *Mad Ann*, p. 238.
⁷⁹ *Mad Ann*, p. 238.
⁸⁰ Royall, p. 48.
⁸¹ *Mad Ann*, p. 238.

wrote that Anne's life was dedicated to avenging her husband's death. To this end she gave up household concerns and female dress and rode about the country attending every muster of soldiers.⁸² So imbued was she with the idea of revenge that it was written of her: "From the period of his death she became possessed with a strange savage spirit of revenge against the Indians."⁸³ She went among the Indians at will, spoke Shawnee fluently, and "told the savages that she was endowed by the Great Spirit with wonderful powers, and that if they interfered with her undertakings she would cause them to be swept from the face of the earth."⁸⁴

According to Atkinson, bad weather did not keep Anne from her duties as a scout, but it did present a problem which she had to solve. Gunpowder must be kept dry, Atkinson, in 1876, wrote, and in bad weather Anne kept her ammunition dry by putting it in caves and hollow logs.⁸⁵

Writers, intent on glorifying Anne, continued to stress her devotion to the cause she had espoused and to exaggerate her success as a scout. In his colorful *Romance and Tragedy of Pioneer Life*, published in 1883, Mason stressed Anne's devotion to "that strange career which spread her name far and wide through the border settlements, and which will perpetuate it so long as the stories of the border struggles are read among men."⁸⁶

Another phase of the glorification of Anne concerns her loyalty to the settlers and her willingness, even eagerness, to serve them in any capacity. Mason ties this will-to-service with her desire for revenge: "No service in behalf of the settlers was too arduous, no mode of injury to the savages too cruel or bloody for her fierce zeal."⁸⁷

Anne's enthusiasm for killing Indians was matched by Buell's enthusiasm for superlatives as concerned Anne: "As soon as she heard of the death of her husband (a presentiment of which she said she had before he was killed by the Indians), and became a widow, a furious, wild, strange fancy possessed her,

⁸² Elliot, p. 269.

⁸³ McLaughlin, p. 799.

⁸⁴ A. G. Johnson, pp. 126-128.

⁸⁵ Elliot, p. 138.

⁸⁶ Mason, p. 602.

⁸⁷ Elliot.

and with a deep seated spirit of revenge rankling in her bosom, she swore eternal vengeance upon the entire savage race."⁸⁸ ". . . she armed herself with a rifle, bullet-pouch, powder-horn, tomahawk and scalping-knife, attired herself like a man, in hat, hunting-shirt, leggings and moccasins, rode astride like the male sex, and went about the country on horseback, attending every muster of the soldiers, where she commanded universal attention. . . . She conveyed information to the commanders of forts, a service in which she took universal delight. . . ."⁸⁹

According to Buell the Indians considered Anne to be insane, and, being insane, under the special care of the Great Spirit. Hence she roamed unmolested through the wilderness from Point Pleasant to the James and Potomac Rivers. So successful was she in her military endeavors that she was called the "Semiramis of America."⁹⁰

Perhaps a hunting knife and a butcher knife are one and the same thing, but butcher knife is certainly a more colorful term. And Anne rode about the country "mounted on a favorite horse of great sagacity and rode like a man, with rifle over her shoulder and a tomahawk and butcher knife in her belt."⁹¹

As has been mentioned, Anne rendered aid to the settlers in any capacity where her services were needed. She was skilled at nursing and became almost as well loved for her unselfish devotion as a nurse as she was admired for her success as a scout and ". . . for eleven years she fearlessly dashed along the whole western border, going wherever her services required. . . ."⁹²

Writers, men and women alike, were agreed that Anne was a woman of determination. "No mountain was too steep for her unfaltering steed; no winter so severe, no summer so hot, formed purpose."⁹³ "The murderers of the husband of her

⁸⁸ Buell, p. 282.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Brown, p. 298.

⁹² "Anne Boley's Ride," *Southern Historical Magazine*, II (July, 1890), p. 98.
⁹³ Musilier, p. 286.

And avenging his death she furthered the cause of freedom, made way for liberty, life, and good order in the new world."⁹⁴

One of the trips that Anne took many times in the service of the settlers was from Fort Lee (Charleston) to Point Pleasant. The distance was sixty miles, and it took Anne two days and one night to make the trip. She usually slept in a cave when going to Fort Randolph (Point Pleasant).⁹⁵ It is also reported that Anne slept in hollow logs when carrying messages.⁹⁶

Anne often outwitted the Indians, often left them utterly astonished. When the Indians saw her coming, they would "make off and raise the alarm, shouting 'The White Squaw!' to their companions."⁹⁷ They believed their bullets could not harm her.

Since the Indians joined the British in the Revolutionary War, Anne not only fought the Indians, but the British as well. She carried messages, powder, and supplies until the Revolution was over. After the Revolution she went to Fort Savannah (Lewisburg, W. Va.) and volunteered in the task of "winning the West" from the savages.⁹⁸

One report of Anne's activities said that she lived for a time in "a hut built with her own hands on the ridge of a mountain which bears her name and high above the spot where the tablet now stands in her memory [Mad Ann's Ridge, Allegheny County, Virginia]. Here, from her point of vantage, she kept watch over the surrounding country and at first sight of the enemy she would mount her black horse, which she called 'Liverpool' and fly to warn the settlers."⁹⁹

It should be recalled that, according to Cook, Anne and Richard Trotter established their home in Allegheny County, Virginia. According to Lewis, the rail cabin built by Anne's own hands was located near Gallipolis, Ohio, and was built during Anne's last years—and not in the early part of her career.

⁹⁴ Englek, p. 262.

⁹⁵ Leidley, p. 62.

⁹⁶ James Morton Callahan, *History of West Virginia* (Chicago and New York: American Historical Society, Inc., 1922), p. 226.

⁹⁷ Daile, pp. 102-103.

⁹⁸ Cook, pp. 102-103.

⁹⁹ MacCormac, p. 4.

By 1935, one hundred ten years after Anne's death, her admirers and enthusiasts had expanded considerably her field of action, as well as the scope of her activities. "She ranged along the Allegheny mountains from North Carolina to Maryland recruiting the best soldiers Washington ever commanded in the Revolutionary War. . . . And she kept the officers of the Continental Army advised of conditions throughout the vast territory through which she rode while recruiting them."¹⁰⁰

Anne was equipped for and capable of meeting any emergency. As a part of her equipment she carried a small axe. "When she needed a canoe she chopped down a tree, hollowed out the trunk and made one. . . ." When she needed food she shot game and cooked it on a stick.¹⁰¹

In 1953 superlatives were still employed when writing of Anne's scouting activities. The following quotation is from Ruth B. Scott's story in *The Richmond Times Dispatch*: "She was the best scout in all Virginia, especially in the Shenandoah and Kanawha valleys."¹⁰² Again the activating motive was stressed as revenge. "She had seen her husband tortured and killed at the Battle of Point Pleasant."¹⁰³

One 1953 writer suggested that her success was owing not only to her zeal but also to the strange awe in which she was held by the Indians. "Early in her career, evidently, she had mesmerized the Indians into believing that she possessed supernatural powers, or else they believed she was mentally queer, which was just as effective as having occult powers."¹⁰⁴ In this quotation the romantic tendency to the strange and occult is self evident. The surprising thing is that it was written in 1953.

As this study develops, Anne's eccentric ways will continue to be demonstrated, but in no place will a more singular habit be found than in the manner of making camp herein described.

Other points to be noted in this section are as follows: Anne's habit of drinking intoxicating liquors; the attitude of

¹⁰⁰ Summers, p. 26.

¹⁰¹ Ruth Woods Dayton, *Pioneers and Their Homes on Upper Kanawha* (Charles Town, West Virginia: West Virginia Publishing Company, 1947), p. 39.

¹⁰² Scott, p. 18.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.* p. 18.

¹⁰⁴ Geiger, p. 126.

the Indians toward her; the introduction of the supernatural element; and the re-occurrence of the revenge motif.

Of special interest is the extension of the territory and scope of Anne's scouting activities which have grown to include not only the Kanawha-Greenbrier area but the entire border from Maryland to Staunton. Of even greater importance is the dual suggestion of her attachment to Washington's army as a recruiting agent, and, at the same time, of her employment as informant for other officers of the Revolutionary Army. As a Revolutionary scout, Anne, according to her admirers, reached the highest possible distinction—that of service to Washington and his staff.

VI

Anne's Marriage to Bailey

There was nothing of special interest in the marriage of Anne Hennis and Richard Trotter and it was given small notice by Anne's biographers and enthusiasts. The marriage of Anne to John Bailey was a different matter, and writers capitalized upon the strange and romantic aspects of the union.

For eleven years Anne had followed pursuits almost exclusively masculine—pursuits which must, of necessity, have left their imprint upon her character, personality, and appearance. And writers speculated concerning the marriage of John and Anne.

One of the first attempts to explain the strange mating was made by Charles McKnight in *Our Western Border*. In 1875, McKnight wrote: "Strange that such an odd, rugged, intractable character should ever even for a day, allow the soft passion of love to usurp the place of her fierce and cruel revenge! Stranger still, that any mortal man could be found who would be attracted by such a wild, stormy, riotous spirit. He must have 'wooed her as the lion woes his bride,' where the mutual caresses and encounters of love pass amid savage roars and growls and rude buffetings. But a man did woo, and win her, too, and his name it was Bailey, and so she became Mrs. Ann Bailey."¹⁰²

¹⁰² McKnight, p. 718.

McKnight continued his speculation concerning the success of the marriage: "Whether he ever 'tamed this shrew' history sayeth not, but we read that her unquenchable spirit and audacity, in spite of her many eccentricities, greatly endeared her to the whole border."¹⁰⁴

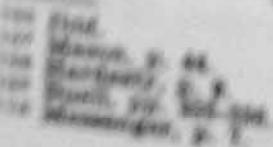
Interest in Anne's love life continued and, in 1883, Mason contributed the following: "At some period in her career, this strange, unsexed creature, with her disordered intellect, was actually wooed and won by a man named Bailey, but this marriage made no change in her life, except that, instead of being known as 'Mad Ann' she was thereafter 'Mad Ann Bailey.'"¹⁰⁵

The date of Anne's second marriage remained more constant than of the first, but variations did occur: "About the year 1777, she married a man named Bailey, and shortly after accompanied him to Clendenin Fort . . . in which her husband had been assigned to garrison duty."¹⁰⁶

Writers disagreed not only on the date of Anne's second marriage but also on the duration of her widowhood and her age at the time of the second marriage. Buell contributed the following account of the marriage: "After sixteen years of widowhood the gentle influence of love pervaded her bosom, and in 1790 she married a man by the name of John Bailey, a soldier with whose name her checkered and eventful career is linked."¹⁰⁷ May we recall for the reader that Buell had given Anne's birthdate as 1700?

Bailey's name was an inconstant factor in the story of Anne's romance. According to Messenger, Anne's second husband was Robert Bailey. She "went with him to old Fort Union, thence to Fort Lee, leaving her little son in the care of protecting friends."¹⁰⁸ It will be recalled that, according to Lewis, William Trottier was born in 1767, and also, according to Lewis, that the date of Anne's second marriage was 1785. Therefore, the little son referred to by Messenger was, at the time of this marriage, eighteen years of age.

Bailey was reported to be a distinguished frontiersman and



brave scout, but only once was it reported that he became commander of a fort: "In 1785 she was married in Greenbrier County to a brave scout named John Bailey who soon after became the commandant at Fort Clendenin [Fort Lee] and took his bride with him to his new post."¹¹¹ Cook's assertion that John Bailey's name cannot be found in the documents relating to Fort Lee is of interest at this point.

The marriage date was changed once again, in 1923, when it was written that Anne married Bailey in 1780.¹¹²

Writers continued to speculate on reasons for the strange marriage: "Companionship and the interchange of free talk with a sturdy fellow creature after a long day of hazardous activity probably led her into this union."¹¹³ In this quotation the influence of realism and plain common sense may be observed, which, to this writer at least, is refreshing.

A last speculation concerning the marriage occurred in 1938, when a *Charleston Gazette* writer volunteered the following: "His services to the army were similar to Anne's; his bitterness equal to that of the young widow."¹¹⁴ This, it will be noted, is the first suggestion of bitterness on the part of John Bailey. Possibly the writer felt the need of explaining Bailey's action in marrying so strange a creature as Anne. It is known that the feeling of bitterness and hatred for the Indians was strong along the border. It would seem that the writer in question has simply attributed to one individual an excess measure of what was a general attitude, and in so doing he has explained, to his own satisfaction at least, this strange marriage.

From a literary point of view, the chief interest to be found in the accounts of this phase of Anne's career is the extreme romanticism of the writers who tell the story. Also of interest is the attempt to explain, psychologically, the reasons for the marriage. The one instance of realism in writing about the marriage has already been mentioned.

¹¹¹ Callahan, p. 226.

¹¹² Paul Philbrick Stoneforth, "Know of Ann Bailey? You Should for Her Story is a Quaker One," *Huntington (West Virginia) Herald Dispatch*, December 8, 1923. Clipping located in the Paffenbarger scrapbooks. Page not given.

¹¹³ Cook, p. 4.

¹¹⁴ Feature article in *The Charleston (West Virginia) Gazette*, February 6, 1938.

VII

The Siege and Ride

Anne Bailey's chief claim to glory rests on the account of her heroic ride to Lewisburg for powder when Fort Lee was under siege by the Indians. As has been shown, through the investigations of Dr. Cook, there is no evidence of a documentary nature to support the story of the siege and ride. The question naturally arises as to the origin of the oft repeated and highly decorative tale.

It is well to point out that there are two other instances, in the pioneer history of West Virginia, of daring efforts to procure ammunition. Fleming Cobbs, when Fort Lee was a second time (reputedly) out of powder, made a canoe trip to Point Pleasant, a distance of sixty-four miles, and brought back the needed ammunition. The popular story concerning this feat is that the trip up the river from Point Pleasant to Charleston was "a race with a band of Indians bent upon his destruction." However, Cobbs escaped the Indians and reached Fort Lee in safety.¹¹⁵

The deed which most nearly parallels Anne Bailey's ride is the dash for powder made by Betty Zane when Fort Henry (present site of Wheeling, West Virginia) was under attack by the Indians. Colonel Ebenezer Zane's house, a short distance from the fort, was used as a store house for ammunition. When the Indian attack became imminent, Colonel Zane determined to remain in his house, enough powder being transferred to the fort to withstand the siege. However, the siege was of longer duration than had been anticipated and the supply of powder ran low. Elizabeth Zane, younger sister of Colonel Zane, volunteered to go for the powder. The Indians, amazed to see a woman issue boldly from the fort, made no attempt to harm her, "only exclaiming 'a squaw, a squaw' . . ." Betty reached the cabin, Colonel Zane tied a table cloth around her waist, and emptied a keg of powder into it. Betty sprang from the cabin and raced in safety to the fort, this time braving the fire of the Indians.¹¹⁶ This attack on Fort Henry took

¹¹⁵ Cook, *Annals*, p. 76.

¹¹⁶ Alexander Scott Withers, *Chronicles of Border Warfare* (Clarksburg, Virginia: J. Israel, 1831), pp. 333-339.

place on September 10, 1782.¹¹⁷ This was several years prior to the alleged siege of Fort Lee.

It should be stated, before continuing further, that Withers does not mention a siege at Fort Lee, nor does he mention Anne Bailey. Another of the early historians of this period, Willis DeHass,¹¹⁸ also fails to mention Anne or the siege at Fort Lee.

The first published account of Anne's ride for powder occurred in the obituary, previously mentioned. In this account William Clendenin is reported as saying that an Indian attack was expected, that the powder was low, and that Anne rode to Lewisburg and brought back the needed ammunition. If the expected siege materialized, it was not recorded in the obituary.¹¹⁹

The first account which told fully the story of the ride was an idealized version, a long poem, "A Legend of the Kanawha", written in close imitation of Sir Walter Scott. Lewis and Cook agree that the poem was written by a Civil War soldier by the name of Charles Robb. They disagree, however, concerning the publication date of the poem. Lewis stated: "Charles Robb, of the United States Army was at Gauley Bridge, in 1861, and having heard the story of Anne Bailey wrote the following [the poem], which appeared at the time in the Clearmont [Ohio] *Courier*."¹²⁰

Dr. Cook wrote that "on November 7, 1861, he [Robb] completed a twenty-four stanza story of *A Legend of the Kanawha*. After the war, he removed to Clearmont County, Ohio, and this story was published in *The Courier of Clearmont*."¹²¹

Early in the poem Robb gave the source of his material, stating plainly that he got the story from a mountaineer:

Then spake a hardy mountaineer
(His beard was long, his eye was clear;
And clear his voice, of metal tone,
Just such as all would wish to own)—
"I've heard a legend old," he said,

¹¹⁷ Charles Henry Amster, *West Virginia, the Mountain State* (New York: Franklin-Hall, Inc., 1938), p. 128.

¹¹⁸ Willis DeHass, *History of Early Settlements and Indian Wars of Western Virginia*, *Wheeling (Virginia)*: H. Holtzclaw, Philadelphia: Printed by King and Baird, 1861.

¹¹⁹ Lewis, *Life and Times*, p. 42.

¹²⁰ Cook, *Annals*, p. 89.

It is interesting to note, and to speculate upon, the fact that this full story of the ride was of a creative rather than historical nature. It is interesting also to consider the fact that the poem was written seventy years after the alleged ride took place.

In reflecting upon the possible origin of the story, assuming for the moment that Cook is right and the ride did not occur, it is well to notice the similarity between one incident of the Betty Zane story, as told by Withers, and one incident in the poem by Robb. The Indians indifferent to Betty Zane's leaving the fort, and yelling "a squaw, a squaw," let her go unmolested to her brother's cabin. Robb, in describing Anne's issuance from Fort Lee, uses the same words:

'A squaw! a squaw!' the chieftain cries,
('A squaw! a squaw!' the host replies:)

Robb, however, does not follow through and permit Anne to depart in peace.

'To horse! to horse! the chieftain cried,
They mount in haste and madly ride.
Along the rough, uneven way,
The pathway of the lady lay;

Whatever the source of Robb's material, his colorful account of Anne's heroic ride changed the character of written matter concerning her. Prior to this time writers had been concerned with her eccentricities, peculiarities, and activities as a scout. From this time on, the story of the ride formed the basic part of any written matter concerning her.

An 1873 version of the ride tells us that a runner was sent from Point Pleasant to warn the inhabitants of the Charleston area that one hundred warriors had crossed the Ohio and were heading in the direction of Fort Lee or Greenbrier County. The settlers gathered in. Powder was low and Anne volunteered to ride to Lewisburg. "A good horse was furnished her, with a stock of jerked venison and johnny-cake." Anne crossed mountains and swam rivers. At night she made a bed by driving forked sticks, three feet high, into the ground and laying boards on stakes across them. There she slept amid the buzzing of insects and the howling of wolves. The day after Anne's return with the powder, the attack came. Anne fought

bravely and killed one Indian, thereby accomplishing her revenge.¹²²

As in the stories of Anne's scouting activities, this version of the siege and ride ends on the revenge motif. May we again point out to the reader that this theme is of regular recurrence in the story?

Robb, in his poetical version of the tale, described only the perils of the first half of Anne's journey, either assuming that the reader would take for granted the dangers of the return trip, or being prevented by his artistic sense from repeating himself—the dangers obviously being the same. It was not long, however, until the return trip was being described as vividly as the "dash" to Lewisburg. One who led the way in this was Charles McKnight: "With a led horse weighted down with ammunition, she resolutely commenced her return; her trail followed by packs of ravenous wolves or still more dangerous redskins, sleeping by night amid the profound solitudes of the wilderness and on spreads of boughs raised high on stakes to protect her from venomous snakes or savage beasts; crossing raging torrents, breasting craggy heights; ever watching for Indian sign, but ever avoiding Indian attacks, until she heroically delivered her powder and saved the fort."¹²³

Wide variations occurred as to the time of the Indian attack on Fort Lee. Did the assault come before Anne left for powder, during her absence, or after her return? Some writers followed Robb and maintained there had been a long siege. Mason, in his colorful account, wrote: "Unable to subdue it [Fort Lee] by force, the besiegers undertook to reduce it by famine."¹²⁴

Mason was concerned with the terrain over which Anne rode and with the route she followed: "The way led through dense forests, bottomless morasses, vast ranges of mountains, terrific precipices, and rushing rivers. . . . Avoiding all trails, roads, and regular passes, she took her way directly across the mountains of West Virginia for more than a hundred miles."¹²⁵

And Mason added to the perils of the return trip. The venomous snakes, which, according to McKnight, had made

¹²² Eliot, pp. 220-221.
¹²³ McKnight, p. 208.
¹²⁴ Mason, p. 162.
¹²⁵ Eliot, p. 221.

sleep dangerous for Anne became, in Mason's imagination, equally dangerous by day, and he wrote: "At every step beset by hissing serpents which still infest the mountains of Virginia . . ."¹²⁶

There was considerable difference of opinion concerning the distance from Fort Lee (Charleston, West Virginia) to Lewisburg. It would seem that the longer the ride, the greater Anne's glory and the generally accepted hundred miles increased to one hundred forty¹²⁷ and soon thereafter to one hundred fifty miles.¹²⁸ Two days and nights were all the time required for Anne to cover this distance.¹²⁹

"I will go." These three words uttered in a ringing voice by Anne and quoted repeatedly by subsequent writers, were, strangely enough, not added to printed versions of the story until 1892. At the same time Anne's feelings and emotions on the trip received some attention: "Darkness and day were one to her. It was a ride for life and there could be no stop." This same scribe continued creative and Anne's entrance into the fort is described: "The garrison in Fort Lee welcomed her return, and she entered it, as she had left it, under a shower of balls." The men then sallied forth and broke the siege.¹³⁰

Robb clearly indicated in 1861 that the men were afraid to go for powder. A woman, in 1907, took up the theme: "Brave men paled and looked at each other in dismay that appalled them. A dead silence fell."¹³¹ Then Anne bravely volunteered to ride for the powder.

The manner of Anne's leaving Fort Lee and of her entrance into the fort upon her return from Lewisburg are matters of conjecture. Mrs. Messenger described Anne's entry into the Fort as triumphal: ". . . and at last nearly exhausted, but animated by the hope of saving the garrison, she reached Fort Lee amid shouts, the echoes of which died among the wild hills around . . ." Almost as an afterthought was added: "In addition, the latter part of her long, lonely, perilous journey was under savage fire."¹³²

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Hardesty, p. 9.

¹²⁸ Ibid., p. 106.

¹²⁹ Hardesty, p. 9.

¹³⁰ Anne Bailey's Ride," p. 90.

¹³¹ Messenger, pp. 7-8.

¹³² Ibid., p. 8.

Anne's route is another point on which there has been much conjecture: "History has preserved sufficient records of the journey to enable us to trace it on the map."¹³³ Was there a road from Charleston to Lewisburg in 1791? ". . . and the way lay . . . along trackless ways, across deep rivers, and over the mountains through a region where thitherto only the wild animal, the wilder Indian, or the frontier warrior, had made their way."¹³⁴ Was it, indeed, a trackless forest? "On she goes over the well known road. With steady hand she guides the steed."¹³⁵

Subsequent writers did not always agree with Mr. Robb that on leaving Fort Lee, Anne dashed gallantly through the "op'ning portal." William Alexander MacCorkle, ex-governor of West Virginia, writing in 1916, added a welcome touch of realism to the story of the ride. Knowing full well the necessity of absolute quiet if Anne were to escape detection, MacCorkle wrote: ". . . the door was opened and she went forth like a wraith into the trackless forest . . ."¹³⁶ and MacCorkle was consistent about the manner of Anne's return: "After the darkness of the night, when hope died away in the heart of the garrison, a quite knocking was heard at the gates of Fort Lee, and . . . Anne Bailey was admitted to the fort . . ."¹³⁷

In 1926, a weak effort at defining Anne's mental attitude was made by Percy Reniers. According to Reniers, Anne had no misgivings concerning the trip: "She was the first eager volunteer for this enterprise and under cover of night she stole out of the fort on her black pony Liverpool and through the Indian lines."¹³⁸

An account of the ride, which rivaled Robb's poem as far as colorful detail is concerned, appeared in 1931—written by Harry Edmond Danford. Danford's version was pure fiction and included incidents heretofore unmentioned by any of the writers surveyed in this study. A brief synopsis of Danford's account follows:

According to this story, the Indians planned to destroy Fort

¹³³ Robb, p. 267.

¹³⁴ William Alexander MacCorkle, *The White Sulphur Springs* (New York: The Blue Publishing Company, 1916), pp. 20-21.

¹³⁵ Robb, p. 26.

¹³⁶ MacCorkle, p. 26.

¹³⁷ Robb, p. 26.

¹³⁸ Reniers, p. 26.

¹³⁹ Danford, p. 26.

¹⁴⁰ Danford, p. 26.

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Lee and scalp every paleface who had dared to trespass upon their prized hunting grounds. The attack came on an April night—amid a severe thunderstorm, the darkness being so deep the defenders could see the Indians only by the intermittent flashes of lightning. Belatedly, the commander of the fort realized that the powder was low. Anne volunteered to go to Lewisburg for powder and, when her husband forbade her going, reminded him that the word obey had been stricken from their marriage vows. In ten minutes she was on her way.

At the mouth of Campbell's Creek, a few miles up the Kanawha River from Fort Lee, Anne saw, by the light of a full moon, the storm presumably having passed, a canoe tied up on the opposite side of the river. She recognized the canoe as belonging to Daniel Boone and, wishing to speak with him, she screamed like a panther. Boone recognized Anne's scream and paddled across the river. Anne told him her story, then was off into the forest for Lewisburg and the powder. Danford brings Anne back to Fort Lee, but does not mention Boone again.¹³⁹

Another purely fictitious account of Anne's ride, written by Grace M. Hall, was published in the *West Virginia Review*, in 1942. The author inserted a notation to the effect that she had made no effort to be historically correct. The story was written in a realistic manner, the author attempting to follow Anne on her hazardous journey, recording her thoughts and reactions as she rode through the wilderness. Anne's rough language, her tobacco, and her rum were neither minimized nor exaggerated. A grim sense of humor was attributed to Anne, when she is quoted as saying to herself, "'Devil of a lookin' bride I'd made without my scalp lock.'"¹⁴⁰

Anne's services at Fort Lee expanded with the telling and retelling of the tale. In one instance, not only did Anne go for powder, it was she who had ridden through the settlements warning the settlers of their danger. It was she who had herded them into the fort for protection.¹⁴¹

Then the chroniclers suffered a change of mind as concerned

¹³⁹ Danford, pp. 118-119.

¹⁴⁰ Grace M. Hall, "Under Cover of Darkness," *West Virginia Review*, XVIII-XIX (June, 1942), p. 18.

¹⁴¹ McCloskey, p. 1.

the weather. There was no April storm on that fateful night in 1791. It was a calm mid-summer night, all peaceful. The men were sleeping peacefully within the stockade—all but one lone sentry. The sentry heard the "whoo" of an owl and in the dimness saw dark forms. "Indians!" When the fact was disclosed that ammunition was low, Anne, "with shining eyes," volunteered to go for powder.¹⁴²

Did Anne travel at night, or by day, or night and day? "Alone on her horse, with rifle across her saddle, fireless at night creeping through underbrush by day to avoid the open trail, Anne Bailey reached the fort at Lewisburg, rested her horse overnight, and then with all the munitions another horse could carry she started back to the relief of Fort Clendenin."¹⁴³

One writer, in 1928, in describing Anne's daring action in riding for the powder reports that Anne "... rode alone from Fort Lee to Lewisburg to secure powder, a journey successfully accomplished not only once, but several times."¹⁴⁴

Again, in 1928, Anne's story was told in verse, the poet this time being a woman, or more probably a girl scout. The title of the poem was "A Girl Scout of 1791," and the publication date coincided (approximately) with the date of the dedication of Camp Ann Bailey, Kanawha County Girl Scout Camp, near Lewisburg, West Virginia. The poem follows:¹⁴⁵

At Charleston in the days of old,
Clendenin stood, a fortress bold.

A woman saved it once, I'm told:

Ann Bailey.

For Wester chiefs, (so said a spy),

Were vowing: 'Every white must die!'

But one kept watch with eagle eye:

Ann Bailey.

So when they reached Kanawha's flood,—

All thirsty for the white man's blood—

Who found it out and brought the word?

Ann Bailey.

¹⁴² Soupart, p. 82.

¹⁴³ Soupart, p. 26.

¹⁴⁴ Ruth Woods Dayton, *Greenbrier Pioneers and Their Homes* (Charleston, West Virginia, West Virginia Publishing Company, 1942), p. 226.

¹⁴⁵ Anna Marie Shumway, "A Girl Scout of 1791," *West Virginia Review*, V (Autumn, 1928), p. 622.

Then swore the colonel and his crew,
(Tho' Ann was standing by, 'tis true),
'The powder's spent! What shall we do,
Ann Bailey?'

I'll bring the shot! and she was gone
To Lewisburg, to ride alone
A hundred miles o'er brake and stone:
Ann Bailey.

All day she braved the forest dark
At night her bed the branches stark
Nor quailed at e'en the wolf's wild bark:
Ann Bailey.

Next day to Lewisburg she came,
Asked but the powder, wheeled again
And only stopped to give her name:-
Ann Bailey.

Brave girl! Did bird nor beast affright-
(Your only bed the mountain height,
Your only canopy the night,)-
Ann Bailey?

Yet in the morn there skimmed the ground
And reached the fort with leap and bound
Just as broke forth the war whoop's sound
Ann Bailey!

And with the Pale Face beat that day,
Though only Men were in the fray,
Who REALLY saved the country? Say!
Ann Bailey.

What inferences, of a literary nature, can be drawn from the story of the siege and ride?

In the first place, according to Cook, there was no siege at Fort Lee; and further, there is no documentary evidence that Anne was ever connected with that fort. What, then, are the possible sources of the story?

Two parallel stories, historically acceptable, may be cited in West Virginia history—the stories of Fleming Cobbs and Betty Zane. There is a possibility that, in seventy years of telling and re-telling the Zane, Cobbs, and Bailey stories, the incidents may have become mixed, and the bringing of powder was borrowed from the Zane or Cobbs story and added to the accounts

of Anne's scouting activities. The fact that Robb's poem did not appear until seventy years after the alleged ride, and fact that he mentions his source as being a mountaineer seems to strengthen this view. However, it must not be assumed that the story of Anne's ride is entirely fictitious. In Anne's obituary, William Clendenin is reported to have said that Anne did bring powder from Lewisburg at a time when the Indians were threatening Fort Lee.

In the unfolding of the tradition of the ride it should be remembered that the account of the ride to Lewisburg came, fullfledged, from the pen of Charles Robb. Writers then seized upon the story and added details concerning the return trip, the trail over which she rode, how she left the fort, how she entered it upon her return, and what her thoughts were while riding through the forest.

Most of the versions are highly romantic but a bit of realism creeps into the story in MacCorkle's common-sense version of how Anne left and re-entered Fort Lee. The story by Grace M. Hall was definitely written in a realistic vein, with some attempt at psychological analysis.

It should also be mentioned that in killing an Indian after her return to Fort Lee, Anne "accomplished her revenge."

VIII

After the Indian Wars

After the Indians had been driven from the Kanawha Valley, Anne's services as a scout were obviously no longer needed, but she continued her eccentric ways, spending much time in the forest, fishing and hunting; and it is said that she seldom wasted a shot.¹⁴⁴

As has been shown in several instances, the tendency of most of the writers who have told Anne's story is toward romanticism. With the romantic emphasis upon nature and the extolling of the simple and natural mode of life as the noblest and the best, it was inevitable that some writer should portray Anne as a nature lover—regardless of whether Anne's years

¹⁴⁴ "Mad Anna," p. 222.

of roving the wilderness were for love of nature or for the purpose of inflicting vengeance upon her savage foes. It was Mrs. Messenger who added this further touch of romanticism to the Anne Bailey tradition: ". . . and to the last she retained her exceptional devotion to nature and primitive forms of life in country and forest."¹⁴⁷

Anne's eccentricity is demonstrated in the fact that even though her days as an Indian scout were over, she continued to wear an assortment of male and female dress. Ellet wrote that Anne was usually clad in buckskin leggings, a skirt, and a man's coat. She is reputed to have visited widely in the homes along the border, always returning to her own cabin laden with gifts.¹⁴⁸

How long John Bailey lived after Anne's gallant ride is a matter of question, and only Buell has made any statement as to the cause of his death: "After the death of her husband, who was murdered and buried not far from Kanawha Falls, in West Virginia . . . she lived with her son, William Trotter . . ."¹⁴⁹

Anne did more than hunt, fish, and visit. She engaged in a kind of express business from Staunton to Gallipolis, bringing to the border settlements medicines, small packages, ". . . anything that could be carried on a horse . . ."¹⁵⁰ "But she did not always ride. Many times Anne Bailey made the long, hard journey on foot, bearing on her back heavy packs of great bulk."¹⁵¹ The tradition that Anne was possessed of unusual physical strength and endurance is suggested in the stories of her repeated trips from Staunton to Gallipolis, either on foot or on horseback.

According to our writers, Anne not only brought goods to the settlers but livestock also. "She was known as a drover of hogs and cattle from the Shenandoah and there is a tradition that she introduced the first game geese in the Kanawha Valley."¹⁵² And further—"When she brought cattle, she did it afoot."¹⁵³

¹⁴⁷ Messenger, p. 4.
¹⁴⁸ Ellet, p. 22.
¹⁴⁹ Buell, p. 300.
¹⁵⁰ Ellet, p. 22.
¹⁵¹ Buell, pp. 116-117.
¹⁵² Calhoun, p. 220.
¹⁵³ Buell, p. 26.

It is interesting to note that when Anne drove livestock from the Shenandoah Valley to the Kanawha, she was following approximately the route now known as U. S. 60. Much of this route is over difficult terrain. It might be suggested that Anne's activities as a driver of livestock may have been confined to lesser distances than those assigned to her. Having brought powder from Lewisburg, and other supplies from Staunton, Anne is credited with having driven the livestock from the Shenandoah also.

As in every other aspect of Anne's life, there was disagreement concerning her life after the ride. "We have not heard of Anne's existence after the hazardous trip which won for her an undying memory in all West Virginia. It is enough that her career, as far as history is concerned, ends with the dramatic ride which assured us of our present civilization."¹⁵⁴

What could be more romantic than the conception that Anne rose to the occasion, met the desperate need of those imperiled at Fort Lee, then, her task performed, disappeared completely from public view! The point is that whatever Anne's occupation after the Indian wars—in the minds of writers it was dramatized and enlarged upon. Thus a tradition grows—a tradition of Anne as a nature lover, as a welcome visitor in the homes along the border, as a carrier of much needed goods to the pioneers, as a drover of livestock, as more than all of these—a tradition of a woman of extra-ordinary physical vigor and stamina.

IX

Anne's Last Years

Anne's last years were spent in Ohio, in or near Gallipolis. Stories about her last years, and especially concerning her age at the time of her death, vary greatly.

One early writer was content to say that she moved later to Ohio and died on the frontier, deeply lamented by all those whom she had served.¹⁵⁵ The reporting soon became specific. Anne went with her son to Ohio, near Gallipolis.¹⁵⁶ Then the

¹⁵⁴ The Charleston (West Virginia) Gazette, February 4, 1898.
¹⁵⁵ *Journal*, p. 115-116.
¹⁵⁶ *Idem*, p. 116.

date was added. She went to Gallia County in 1802 and lived there nearly twenty-three years.¹⁵⁷

Anne remained strong and active unto the end. "She made her last visit to Charleston in the summer of 1817, walking 75 miles when she was 75 years of age."¹⁵⁸ This statement quite obviously follows Lewis's 1891 story of Anne's life. In 1907, however, Miss Evelyn Sterrett, in a letter to Lewis, questioned his statement concerning the last trip to Charleston: "I doubted the correctness for this reason. The stopping point for travellers between Charleston and Point Pleasant was Samuel Alexander's. His daughter, my grandmother, was born in 1818, yet she could tell us much of interest about Ann Bailey. Although she was very young when Ann ceased to make her trips, she was greatly impressed by Ann's masculine dress, appearance and behavior. She could remember how Ann cared for the horses, the stories she would tell I fell quite sure Ann must have taken a few rides as late as 1822 or 1823 or my grandmother could not have remembered her so distinctly"¹⁵⁹ Perhaps Anne was even more hale and hearty than published accounts gave her credit for being.

Anne's age at the time of her death was controversial. She lived beyond one hundred years.¹⁶⁰ She died at the age of one hundred fourteen.¹⁶¹ "She died in 1825, said then to be in the one hundred twentieth year of her age."¹⁶² On the evening of November 23 Anne went to bed, being in extra good health. About ten o'clock she was found dead in her bed. Her age was one hundred twenty-five years.¹⁶³

Anne's death was sentimentalized. "The spirit of this eccentric yet fearless character, was wafted to its final home on the twenty-second of November, 1825, and left the pulseless corpse in a rail shanty—the product of her own hands—on the Ohio River, just below Point Pleasant."¹⁶⁴ And more of the same kind of sentimentality: "She was never ill. She only ceased to breathe. Having heard a great voice saying, 'Come up higher', her soul answered swiftly and silently."¹⁶⁵

¹⁵⁷ Hardisty, p. 3.

¹⁵⁸ Calkins, p. 216.

¹⁵⁹ Evelyn Sterrett, letter to Virgil A. Lewis, July 18, 1907.

¹⁶⁰ Lewis, p. 301.

¹⁶¹ Hardisty, p. 126.

¹⁶² Lewis, p. 302.

¹⁶³ Hardisty, p. 302.

¹⁶⁴ Hardisty, p. 302.

"Eccentric to the last, she refused to live in his [her son William's] comfortable house, and built herself a cabin out of fence rails, living in it with a granddaughter."¹⁶⁶ She died in 1825 at the age of eighty-three years.¹⁶⁷

As late as 1953 a daughter was bestowed upon Anne. In writing of the rail cabin in which Anne lived for a short time, Julius de Gruyter wrote, "She lived there with her daughter until her death, November 22, 1825."¹⁶⁸

Anne's obituary was published in *The Gallia Free Press* on December 3, 1825. It was published under the caption "Longevity". The obituary was preserved by Henry Howe, for whom it was copied by James Harper. James Harper's father was the publisher of *The Gallia Free Press*.¹⁶⁹

Died, in Harrison township, Gallia County, Ohio, on Tuesday, November 22, 1825, the celebrated Ann Bailey. From the best account we have she must have been at least 125 years of age. According to her own story her father was a soldier in Queen Anne's wars; that on getting a furlough to go home he found his wife with a fine daughter in her arms, whom he called Ann after the Queen as a token of respect. In 1714 she went from Liverpool to London with her mother on a visit to her brother—while there, she saw Lord Lovett beheaded.

She came to the United States the year after Braddock's defeat, aged then forty-six years. Her husband was killed at the battle of Point Pleasant in 1774; after that, to avenge his death, she joined the garrison, under the command of Col. Wm. Clendenin, where she remained until the final departure of the Indians from the country. Col. Wm. Clendenin says, while he was commander of the garrison where Charleston, Kanawha, is now located, an attack by Indians was hourly expected. On examination it was believed that ammunition on hand was insufficient to hold out a siege of any length; to send even two, three or four men to Lewisburg, the nearest place it could be had, a distance of 100 miles, was like sending men to be slaughtered; and sending a larger force was weakening the garrison. While in this state Ann Bailey volunteered to leave the fort in the night and go to Lewisburg. She did so—and traveled the wilderness, where not a vestige of a house was to be seen—arrived safe at Lewisburg, delivered her message, received the ammunition, and returned safe to her post, amidst the plaudits of a grateful people.

¹⁶⁶ Norton, p. 306.
¹⁶⁷ Ibid.
¹⁶⁸ De Gruyter, p. 222.
¹⁶⁹ Howe, pp. 403-405.

X

Description and Personality

What did Anne Bailey look like? What were her personal characteristics?

Here again the accounts vary widely, according to the inclination of the author. The romantic influence of the nineteenth century is strong in the idealized descriptions in which Anne is possessed of perfect womanly beauty and grace.

And again the romantic tendency is shown by writers who picture Anne as strange and bizarre, as well as by those who describe in detail the matted grizzled locks of hair and the strange clothing which she wore.

The realistic point of view is represented in word pictures in which the hardships of Anne's life as wilderness scout are reflected in her coarse, roughened countenance and in her uncouth ways.

But, romantic or realistic as the case may be, in no phase of the Anne Bailey tradition is there greater evidence of conjecture, imagination and personal bias than in description of Anne and in the stories about her which illustrate her personal qualities. As has been mentioned, this emphasis upon description was especially true of writers prior to 1861 when Robb's story of the ride provided a new point of emphasis, and gave new direction to the development of the tradition.

Anne Royall, writing in 1826, only a few months after Anne's death, claimed to have seen Anne and talked with her. Mrs. Royall was realistic about Anne and in this respect was somewhat unique, most women writers having a tendency to extol Anne's virtues.

Mrs. Royall wrote: "I have seen the celebrated heroine, Ann Bailey. . . . She was quite a low woman in height, but very strongly made, and had the most pleasing countenance I ever saw, and for her, very affable. . . . When I saw the poor creature, she was almost naked; she begged a dram, which I gave Bailey."¹⁰²

¹⁰² Royall, pp. 48-49.

Anne was not always referred to as a "poor creature." More often, as has been indicated, she was pictured as a bizarre one. "The dress of this individual was of a mongrel character, and a close observer might have been undecided which of the two sexes should claim our subject for its own. The head was bound round with a flaming red bandana handkerchief, from beneath whose folds there fell, and fluttered on the breeze, long grizzled locks of coarse matted hair, which gave a wild and savage appearance. . . . In the belt which encompassed the waist of this personage was a tomahawk and a scalping knife; and another belt sustained a short but very serviceable rifle which was strapped to the shoulders. . . ."¹⁷¹

The descriptive phrases quoted above were written in 1856. The writer continued his account by writing that this strange creature wore buckskin leggings "which reached from the hips to the feet. The feet were covered with a pair of beautiful Indian moccasins. Around the waist and depending two-thirds of the way to the feet, was a petticoat. . . ."¹⁷²

She, for eventually the personage was revealed as a woman, was short, thick-set, coarse, and masculine. Her face was bronzed by exposure and showed "the unmistakable outline of care and passion."¹⁷³ She hunted, fought, rode like a man, and delighted in the excitement and adventure of the border. She became known as "Mad Ann" but no one dared call her that to her face.¹⁷⁴

"She was very profane and often intoxicated . . . and could box with the skill of one of the fancy men of her native country. . . ."¹⁷⁵ She was pugnacious and often fought.

Anne had other accomplishments. She "possessed a considerable amount of intelligence . . ." and could read and write. She was skilled at story telling and "it was her delight to gather round her a group of listeners, and relate the adventures, trials and difficulties she had met with in her checkered career; and often the sympathetic tear would gather in the eyes and course down the cheeks of her audience."¹⁷⁶

¹⁷¹ *Mad Ann*, 29, 228-229.

¹⁷² *Ibid.* 228.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.* 228.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 228.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 228.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 228.

Anne continued to be painted in eccentric colors, and, according to Bennett, writing in 1859, "She was a short, dumpy woman, with large muscular limbs and a full, bluff, coarse, masculine countenance; and her dress was an odd mixture of the two sexes. . . ." Bennett followed the 1856 writer and Anne's hair was allowed to remain coarse, bushy, and uncombed, but it "was surmounted by a raccoon cap."¹⁷⁷ The raccoon cap was perhaps inevitable and it is interesting that no other writer has followed Bennett's lead in this respect.

Bennett continued to follow the 1856 author, repeating the idea and strengthening the tradition of Anne as rough and masculine, swearing, drinking, fighting, "holding her own" with the strongest men on the border. "She could swear like a trooper, drink whiskey like a bar-room lounger, and box with the skill of a pugilist."¹⁷⁸

One of the oft repeated stories concerning Anne told how she appeared late one night at Fort Young, bearing two Indian scalps. "As she came into the light of the fire, however, there arose several quick exclamations of surprise and alarm . . . for it was immediately discovered that her face (and most of her person) was covered with blood, which was even then slowly oozing and dripping down from a long ugly gash that crossed the upper portion of the temple and extended from her forehead to her ear."¹⁷⁹

Anne was taciturn. Two big draughts of whiskey, one being nearly half a pint, were brought. "Mad Ann seized the cup, looked steadily at its contents for a few moments, and then poured it down her throat as if it was so much water." Then she pulled from her bosom "two Indian scalps, from which the fresh blood was yet dripping."¹⁸⁰ She defied the men to beat that ". . . you big, robust, blustering male fellows, who call yourselves the lords of creation."¹⁸¹

She took another big drink and told her story. She was riding through the forest when she received warnings "from t'other world." She rode on "and then something came and touched me—something from t'other world—and I knew the

¹⁷⁷ Bennett, p. 104.
¹⁷⁸ Ibid.
¹⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 109.
¹⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 108.
¹⁸¹ Ibid., p. 109.

danger was nigh and great—a last warning of death."¹⁸² Anne rode on and came upon some Indians, camped and eating. Then the voice told Anne to kill the Indians or they would kill her. Anne answered the spirit voice, "Yes, Lord!" She promised to "kill or die."¹⁸³ She killed the Indians and the next day led the settlers to where the bodies lay.¹⁸⁴

Through all the literature concerning Anne Bailey, her hatred of Indians and desire for revenge is stressed, and this story is repeated, but in no other writing is she portrayed as being as blood-thirsty as in this account.

It was only two years after this story was published that Robb wrote his poem in which he described Anne as possessing all the beauty and grace that any woman could desire.

But one who stood amidst the rest
 The bravest, fairest and the best
 Of all that graced the cabin hall,
 First broke the spell of terror's thrall.
 Her step was firm, her features fine,
 Of mortal mould, the most divine;
 But why describe her graces fair,
 Her form, her mein, her stately air?
 Nay, hold! my pen, I will not dare!
 'Twas Heaven's image mirrored there.¹⁸⁵

Elizabeth F. Ellet followed Robb as the next writer, chronologically, to be concerned with Anne Bailey. Ellet described Anne in her later years. It is immediately obvious that Anne is considerably mellowed by time, and perhaps by the influence of Robb's poem on Mrs. Ellet. However, Anne retained enough of her fierce qualities to be "a terror to refractory workmen."¹⁸⁶ "She often took it upon herself to enforce the keeping of the Sabbath by taking up such boys as she found wandering about that day, and compelling them to sit around her in a cabin, while she opened school exercises for their instruction, greatly to the terror of the delinquents."¹⁸⁷ Anne won prizes at shooting matches,¹⁸⁸ and called not only her horse but also her canoe and gun "Liverpool."¹⁸⁹

"It is said that 'Hell hath no fury like a woman scorned.' Neither hath it any like a woman wronged and thoroughly imbued with the spirit of vengeance. There was a wild unnatural brightness in her sharp, gray eyes, and a mocking jeer in her loud, grating laugh."¹⁹⁰ And it was admitted that "She was somewhat disordered in her intellect."¹⁹¹

Anne's efficiency in the use of invective was illustrated by the story of her meeting with a straggling Indian on Sewell Mountain. Tying her horse's bridle around her ankle, she crawled into a hollow log. When the Indian tried to steal the horse, Anne crawled out of the log and abused the Indian so roundly that he ran off, fearing she would bring down upon him the anger of the Great Spirit.¹⁹²

Even the earliest writers disagreed about Anne's appearance: "She was small, round-shouldered, fleet of foot and dressed in black."¹⁹³ She was a good hunter "and as frequently as any of them, killed a deer off hand, while it was running at full speed. She asked odds of no man at running, jumping, shooting, or hunting."¹⁹⁴

Anne rode a powerful black horse called Liverpool. "It was the only living creature she loved. Her horse and her rifle were her constant companions. . . . Amid storms of rain and sleet, beset by the rigors of winter, followed by wild beasts, or pursued by Indians, her immense frame of iron strength knew no fatigue, her restless rancor no slumber."¹⁹⁵

It was Buell who first related how Anne had been kidnapped, with her books in her arms and brought to America. Buell was consistent. He wrote that she loved her books, and, after moving to Ohio in 1818, she taught school.¹⁹⁶ At this time Anne was, if the birthdate assigned to her by Buell is to be accepted, one hundred eighteen years of age.

Buell described Anne as a protector of women. At a husking bee a settler by the name of Hazlett got too much whiskey

¹⁹⁰ McNight, p. 209.
¹⁹¹ Ibid., p. 108.
¹⁹² DABORN, p. 108.
¹⁹³ Ibid., p. 107.
¹⁹⁴ Ibid., pp. 108-109.
¹⁹⁵ DABORN, p. 102.
¹⁹⁶ Buell, pp. 208-209.

and was going to beat his wife. Anne drew her trusty scalping knife and frightened the ruffian into behaving.¹⁹⁷

Another story, frequently told, relates how Anne had gone to Mann's powder-house for ammunition. While she was crossing Mad Ann's Ridge, snow started to fall. Anne dismounted and fell asleep. Liverpool went back to Mann's. The next morning Anne was located by the holes made in the snow by her warm breath.¹⁹⁸

Evelyn Sterrett, in letters to Virgil A. Lewis, volunteered the following information concerning Anne. While on her way from Charleston to Point Pleasant, Anne frequently stopped at a place called Alexander's. The children were frightened of her, "yet filled with curiosity." Anne was usually silent. "However, sometimes she would rouse from silence and try to entertain them by hooting like an owl and saying, 'I shot an howl across Helk out of a helm tree,' then with another hoot relapse into silence."¹⁹⁹

While stopping at Alexander's, Anne cared for her own horses, especially if Liverpool was one of them. "After seeing them comfortably fed and sheltered, she would box and wrestle with the stable boys for amusement using the same coarse profane language, smoking, chewing and drinking."²⁰⁰

When Anne was carrying ammunition, she wore men's attire, but when carrying messages or other commissions, she wore women's clothing, a linsey-woolsey dress. She occasionally wore a hat "over her unkept gray hair, but usually it was covered by a large handkerchief folded three-cornered and tied under her chin."²⁰¹

That Anne enjoyed a joke is suggested in the following incident told by Miss Sterrett. This anecdote was found only in the Sterrett letter of 1908. A young man once hallooed impudently to her as she turned her canoe toward the shore near Fort Randolph (Point Pleasant). Retorting that she would throw him, Anne sprang from the canoe, caught the young man,

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.* p. 386.

¹⁹⁸ *Monilite*, p. 387.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁰ Miss Evelyn Sterrett, letter to Mr. Virgil A. Lewis, January 28, 1908, *loc. cit.*

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*

The settlers were devoted to Anne and she to them: "For this became her passion and her services to the settlers as scout, soldier, provisioner of forts and as teacher of their children, were hooks of steel, by which, her devotion having been tried, they bound her to themselves and themselves to her."²⁰³ "The people fairly idolized her. She was loaded with gifts of every sort and treated with the greatest respect and kindness."²⁰⁴

Writers continued to describe Anne's appearance and personality: ". . . a fair complexion, hazel eyes, a rather undersized but perfect form, a sweet disposition, and a mind strong and rigorous. . . ." ²⁰⁵ She was honest to the last penny and while "perhaps no church member she was a good woman and observed the Sabbath day and said her prayers and was received and welcomed into all the families." ²⁰⁶

Anne's gentle qualities are challenged in still another tale of her horse being stolen by an Indian. Anne trailed the Indian and found him swimming New River with the animal. "The thief was shot in the back. After an outburst of scurrilous profanity directed at her dead foe, Mrs. Bailey called to the horse and 'Jennie Mann' swam back to her."¹⁰⁷

"There was nothing gentle or religious about Anne, but she rendered more valuable service to the building of the frontier than half a dozen ordinary men of her time."¹⁰⁸ "Often she disappeared for weeks at a time . . . but when she returned she always brought the scalps of several Indians, and it is said that the savages grew to fear her greatly."¹⁰⁹ And yet it was written three years later: "In case of sickness Anne was known as the gentlest and best of all the nurses."¹¹⁰

What kind of person was Anne? Her great-great-grandson, Harry Irion, summed up her personal characteristics: "The statement about her boxing and wrestling with the stable boys for ~~other amusement~~ illustrates to me a robust, roguish sense of backwoods humor as well as an opportunity to demonstrate her physical prowess, of which she was justly proud. I doubt

that she was profane within the strict meaning of that term. My reason for questioning her alleged profanity is due to the tradition in my own family that Anne read her Bible, taught her grandchildren on Sunday, and had strong faith in a protecting and loving God. No doubt she used tobacco and drank alcoholic liquors, for that was common practice among our frontiersmen. . . ."²¹¹

The reader's attention has already been called to the fact that writers before 1861 concentrated on descriptions of Anne, pointing out her strange and bizarre qualities. It was these early writers who started the tradition of Anne as a boisterous, hard-drinking, fighting, swearing woman, the equal in physical strength and skill at the masculine accomplishments of shooting, wrestling, boxing and hunting of any man on the border.

These early writers were also responsible for the tradition of Anne's bloodthirstiness and extreme hatred of the Indians. The element of superstition was also introduced into the story early in its development.

Beginning with Robb in 1861, writers have portrayed a different Anne—Anne the heroine, still, in most cases, physically strong and vigorous, excelling in the masculine pursuits of hunting, wrestling, and boxing, but taking on characteristics of a gentler and nobler nature. She loved books and taught school, was religious, and enjoyed a practical joke. Her passion for service to the settlers supplanted, to some degree, her desire for revenge. The extreme devotion of the settlers to Anne is evidence of her noble qualities.

However, it must not be assumed that all writers immediately began, after 1861, to portray only a noble and virtuous Anne. Writers in the mid-nineteen thirties were still writing of Anne as rough and irreligious but even they admitted her value to the settlers she served.

One other contrast in description of Anne's personality should be mentioned. She was sometimes portrayed as extremely taciturn, sometimes as friendly and garrulous—much given to story telling in which she was adept. It would seem that Anne was all things to all writers.

²¹¹ Harry S. Anna, letter to the author, December 1, 1962.

Memorials and Descendants

The demand for a memorial commemorating the deeds of Anne Bailey was voiced by Augustus Lincy Mason, in 1883, when he wrote: "Virginia and Ohio should build a monument of enduring marble upon the spot."²¹² Two years later the demand was repeated by William P. Buell: "Especially should the memory of Ann Bailey, the heroic woman who risked her life so often for these she loved, be remembered and her name, fame, and heroic deeds should find a resting place upon the bosom of affectionate memory."²¹³

However, nothing was done toward establishing a memorial until 1901 when the Colonel Charles Lewis Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, was organized at Point Pleasant. Under the direction of the D.A.R.: "The ashes of Anne Bailey, the scout, who belonged to General Andrew Lewis's Army were also taken up from where they had long been buried, in an obscure spot near Clippers Mills, Ohio, and placed alongside the soldiers she had so faithfully served, many times at the risk of her own life."²¹⁴ Re-interment was made "just as the sun was sinking down behind the western hills, being the closing ceremonies of the day."²¹⁵

Anne's remains were now properly interred in the ground dedicated to the memory of those brave soldiers, including Anne's first husband, who had lost their lives in the Battle of Point Pleasant, October 10, 1774. But still her grave was unmarked. Writers, however, retained their interest in a monument for Anne. In 1907, Delia McCulloch wrote: "When the monument is erected, Ann Bailey, the Heroine of the Kanawha Valley will not be forgotten."²¹⁶

It was not until 1925 that the desired monument was erected. At this time Anne's grave was "covered with a large boulder, placed there by Capt. C. C. Bowyer, President of the Merchants

²¹² Mason, S. S. "The spot"—Anne's first burial place.
²¹³ Buell, p. 107.
²¹⁴ Annual Report of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1903), p. 230.
²¹⁵ McCulloch, "Anne of Point Pleasant," American Historical Magazine, 1907, p. 306.

National Bank of that city [Point Pleasant] with a bronze tablet telling the passing stranger the simple fact of her heroic career."²¹⁷ The inscription reads:

Ann Hennis Trotter Bailey
Revolutionary Scout
Born in Liverpool, Eng., 1742
Died 1825
Col. Chas. Lewis Chapter, D.A.R.
1925²¹⁸

Testimonials to Anne's heroic life and deeds may be found along the route over which she rode, from Covington, Virginia, to Gallipolis, Ohio. A description of these follows:

"A mile above Barber [Virginia] may be seen, a little way off at the right, the long foot-hill elevation known as Mad Ann's Ridge, because it is associated with the exploits of Ann Bailey."²¹⁹ "This ridge lies at right angles to Warm Springs Mountain and on the north side of Falling Spring Branch."²²⁰ On June 14, 1926 a tablet was placed on the highway between Hot Springs in Bath County and Covington, Allegheny County by the Rainbow Ridge Chapter of Allegheny County Daughters of the American Revolution.²²¹ The inscription on the tablet reads: "Near this spot stood the rude hut in which 'Mad' Anne Bailey spent the last years of her life as a scout and Indian fighter. She rendered valuable services to the first settlers of this section. Placed by the Rainbow Ridge Chapter, D.A.R."²²²

Another marker, placed by the D.A.R., is located on Kanawha Boulevard, Charleston, West Virginia. This marker, a large boulder with bronze plates, is located on the site of Fort Lee. There are two inscriptions, one facing the river, and one, on the opposite side of the stone, facing toward downtown Charleston. The inscription facing the river reads:

²¹⁷ F. F. Wall, "Powder Horn of the Revolution," *The Gallia Times* (Gallipolis, Ohio), February 26, 1900. (Found in the Paffenbarger Scrapbooks. Page not given.)

²¹⁸ *Statistical Register*, p. 26.

²¹⁹ Paul Pollock, "Anne Anne Bailey?" *Huntington (West Virginia) Journal*, December 4, 1926, p. 5.

²²⁰ *Statistical Register*, p. 26.

²²¹ Milton C. Baugh, letter to the author, March 2, 1964.

²²² *McClinton*, p. 8.

FORT CLENDENIN

1778

Saved by two historic rides
 for powder
 Ann Bailey
 On horseback through wilderness
 to Lewisburg and return
 Fleming Cobbs
 Poled down Kanawha River
 to Point Pleasant and return
 Kan. Valley Chapt. 1930²²³

Road markers mentioning Anne Bailey have been placed by the West Virginia State Road Commission in Charleston and at Point Pleasant. The Charleston marker is on the corner of Virginia and Court Streets, on U.S. highway Routes 21, 60, 119. The marker reads: "Founded by George Clendenin and named for his father. Established, 1794. Fort Lee, built 1788, stood on Kanawha River. 'Mad' Anne Bailey, the border heroine, and Daniel Boone and Simon Kenton, noted scouts, once lived here."²²⁴

The marker at Point Pleasant is located on U.S. route 35 and West Virginia routes 2 and 5. The inscription: "Fort Blair was built here in 1774 and later Fort Randolph, center of Indian activities, 1777-1778. Here are graves of 'Mad Anne' Bailey, border scout, and Cornstalk, Shawnee chief, held as hostage and killed at Fort Randolph in 1777."²²⁵

Richard W. Workman, an official of the West Virginia Conservation Commission, Division of Education, informed the author that in Watoga State Park, Pocahontas County, there is a wooden tower, built on a point known as Workman's Ridge, from which place Anne Bailey is said to have kept watch over the Greenbrier Valley. On a park road, four miles from the lookout, is a wooden sign indicating the side road which leads to the tower. A few of the generally accepted facts concerning Anne's career are carved on this sign.

When Anne was making her rides between Charleston and Point Pleasant, she spent her nights in a cave and this cave

²²³ The inscription copied from the marker by the author.
²²⁴ West Virginia Historical and Tourism Highway Markers (Charleston, West Virginia: State Board of Control of West Virginia in cooperation with the Works Projects Administration, 1939), p. 22.

became known as Anne Bailey's Cave. Dr. C. C. Forbes of Leon, West Virginia, told Mr. Virgil Lewis of this cave and added that the cave had been ruined by workmen quarrying rock.²²⁵ This cave was "in the lower part" of the county and "in the upper end of the county there is a branch known as Anne's Branch."²²⁶ In 1953, *The Richmond Times-Dispatch* carried an article locating a cave between Staunton and Lewisburg, accompanied by a picture with this caption: "Anne Bailey lived in this cave in Western Virginia while scouting between Staunton and Lewisburg."²²⁷

A unique testimonial to Anne Bailey's memory was the ferry boat, the "Ann Bailey," which plied the Ohio from Point Pleasant to Kanauga, on the Ohio side, from approximately the first decade of 1900 to 1928. The clipping quoted below was found in the scrapbooks of Mrs. Livia Poffenbarger who was editor of *The State Gazette* around 1900-1910. "On Monday morning Capt. Ulysses Grant Hayes let the contract to the Kanawha Dock Company for a new ferry boat to be much longer than that now plying between here and Kanauga, on the Ohio side. . . . The new ferry is to be completed before October 7th and will be called for the Heroine of the Kanawha Valley, Ann Bailey."²²⁸ The Ann Bailey carried passengers and traffic across the Ohio until it was replaced in 1928 by "The Silver Bridge."²²⁹

Near Gallipolis there is a small church known as Bailey Chapel Church. "Bailey Chapel Church, built on the site given to its congregation, by the descendants of William Trotter, the son of Anne Bailey, was named in her honor, and is about 200 yards from her first burial place, along State Route 218, and is nine miles south of Gallipolis. It is affiliated with the Christian Order Denomination. . . ."²³⁰

Perhaps the most fitting of all the memorials to Anne Bailey is the Kanawha County Girl Scout camp. Camp Ann Bailey is built on a sixty-eight acre reservation in the mountains of

²²⁵ Lewis, *Times and Tribune*, pp. 69-70.
²²⁶ Lewis, p. 86.

²²⁷ "Contract for New Boat." *The State Gazette* (Point Pleasant, West Virginia), The Pocahontas Standard, p. 4.
²²⁸ *Business Circular, "Completion of Silver Bridge Over Ohio Wednesday Will Create New Link in Recreational Business Between States of Ohio and West Virginia.* May 25, 1928, sec. 2, p. 2.
²²⁹ *The Chronicle, West Virginia, Circular, May 25, 1928, sec. 2, p. 2.*
²³⁰ *Business Circular, access to the author, February 18, 1954.*

Greenbrier County. "Ann Bailey is the property of the Kanawha County Girl Scouts, built two years ago (1927) . . ."²³² It was named for the pioneer mountain heroine.²³³

Anne's story has been told, not only in poetry and prose, but in drama as well. On October 7, 1927 a pageant was presented at the Kanawha Exposition (Kanawha County Fair) at Dunbar, West Virginia. "The character of Anne Bailey will be one of the most important in the pageant. . . ."²³⁴ The pageant consisted of ten episodes. Anne's ride comes at the conclusion of Episode IV: "Lying flat upon her horse, she rides successfully through them (the Indians) without being hurt, and reaches the inside of the fort in safety."²³⁵

And Anne has been on radio. On May 10, 1947, Point Pleasant celebrated the opening of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad bridge over the Kanawha at that place.²³⁶ Climaxing the celebration was Station WLW's presentation of Anne's story on their *Builders of Destiny* series of programs. Peter Grant was the narrator.²³⁷

Anne Bailey continues to capture the imagination of those who read her story, that strange, ridiculous, heroic tale which is even yet being told and retold. The Ruth B. Scott version appeared late in 1953 in *The Richmond Times-Dispatch* and Julius de Gruyter's book, *The Kanawha Spectator*, was released in December, 1953. de Gruyter gave approximately five pages to Anne's story.

This present study may be considered as further evidence that Anne still lives in the memory of West Virginians. But of greater importance is the research which is now being done by Harry S. Irion of Washington, D. C. Mr. Irion is a great-great-grandson of Anne, who, since his retirement in 1951 from the U.S. Forest Service, has been working on a biography of his illustrious grandparent.

Interest is not confined to the locale where Anne trod nor is it limited to those who are numbered among her descend-

²³² Ohio Miner, "Camp Ann Bailey Girl Scout Paradise," *The Charleston (West Virginia) Gazette*, August 11, 1928, sec. A, p. 5.
²³³ West Virginia (West Virginia) Gazette, May 15, 1929.
²³⁴ West Virginia (Charleston, West Virginia) Gazette, September 29, 1927.
²³⁵ West Virginia (West Virginia) Daily Mail, October 5, 1927.
²³⁶ "B&O Railroad Bridge City New Bridge Opening," *The Point Pleasant Journal*, May 11, 1947, p. 1.
²³⁷ "Point Pleasant, W. Va., The Point Pleasant (West Virginia) Register," May 11, 1947, p. 1.

ants. "The following request was taken from a letter we received from Mr. Sigmund A. Lavine, Curator, 65 Stratton St., Dorchester, Mass.: 'I am the author of a juvenile biography of Gilbert and Sullivan which is to be issued this fall by Dodd, Mead and Company of New York City. At present I am under contract to furnish the same organization a teen-aged biography of Charles Proteus Steinmetz, the electrical wizard. This book is almost finished and shortly I will be free to begin another. I have chosen the heroine of the frontier, Anne Bailey, as my subject.' "²³⁸

Anne Trotter Bailey lives on in her descendants. Her only child, William Trotter, was the father of ten children, one of whom, a daughter, Mary, married James Irion, by whom she had twelve children. One of these, a son named John, was the father of five children, among whom were Brooks and Harry Irion.²³⁹

Brooks Irion inherited the physical stamina and vigor of his famous grandparent. "He was a long distance runner during his early life, having remarkable powers of endurance The greatest distance he ever ran in a single race was 50 miles."²⁴⁰

Mr. Harry S. Irion was born in Gallipolis but has spent most of his adult life in Washington, D. C., where he served as an attorney in the U. S. Forest Service until his retirement in 1951.²⁴¹

Gifford Irion, son of Harry S. Irion, is a trial examiner in the Federal Communication Commission. He is the author of several short articles and plays. His novel, *Windward of Reason*, was released by The Dial Press in May, 1954. Mr. Gifford Irion has two children, great-great-great-grandchildren of Anne Bailey.²⁴²

Another of Anne's descendants who is interested in literature is Louis A. Sheets, graduate student in English at Marshall College. Mr. Sheets is a great-great-great-grandson of Anne, descended through her granddaughter, Sarah Trotter.

²³⁸ See *Chronicle*, *West Virginia*, April 2, 1955.

²³⁹ Harry A. Irion, "Constitution Outline," written for the author, December 7, 1954.

A rather impressive number of markers and memorials to Anne Bailey attest the value of her services to the pioneers along the Virginia border. That memorials may be found in three states is evidence of the extent of the territory covered by Anne in her scouting activities. While not exactly of a literary nature, these memorials have been featured in written matter concerning her career. They, therefore, become a natural and important part of this study.

The tracing of Anne's descendants affords another field of research concerning her. It seemed appropriate, however, to include herein some mention of those descendants who are interested in matters of a literary nature, and the one great-great-grandson, Brooks Irion, the distance runner, whose physical stamina and endurance rivaled even that of his famous ancestress, Anne Bailey.

XII

Summary and Conclusions

It was stated in Chapter II that the purpose of this study is to demonstrate how the Anne Bailey tradition grew. A large body of material, both published and unpublished, concerning her has been analyzed, and the printed matter covering several phases of her life has been reviewed.

In the early stages the growth of the tradition was largely oral. As has been demonstrated, little evidence of a documentary nature exists concerning Anne. The Lewis-Cook story, which, for reasons already shown, was accepted as a basic and reasonable account with which to compare other versions, is largely traditional in nature.

Every item of published matter concerning Anne has been printed since her death in 1825, almost all of it since 1861. Although every phase of Anne's life has been subject to examination, speculation, and exaggeration by writers, the main body of the material falls naturally into two major divisions, first, writings, largely descriptive in nature, concerning Anne and her activities as a scout; and second, narration and description, both in poetry and in prose, concerning the ride for powder which saved Fort Lee from destruction by the Indians.

In making the above divisions, it was not intended to discount the divergencies and exaggerations which occur in other phases of the story and which have added some of the most colorful tales to the tradition. For example, in no place is there evidence of greater invention than in the stories of how Anne came to America. And further, the difference of half a century in her birthdate has given rise to stories concerning her that are delightful, but highly improbable, if not ridiculous, as, for example, giving birth to an only son at sixty-seven years of age, falling in love at ninety, and teaching school at the ripe old age of one hundred eighteen years.

And yet, it is our considered opinion that the material does fall into the two divisions suggested above and that the source, immediate or remote, for most of it can be found in Richard Trotter's death. Richard's death was the cause of Anne's extreme bitterness and hatred for the Indians. Because of his death she turned to recruiting soldiers, scouting, carrying messages, in short, to that strange career which made her famous.

Only four printed items concerning Anne occurred prior to 1861 and two of these, the obituary and the Anne Royall sketch, were very short. The other two, "Mad Ann, the Huntress" and the passage in Emerson Bennett's *Wild Scenes on the Frontier*, were highly imaginative and romantic descriptions of Anne and her activities as a scout. From these two articles, has come the tradition of Anne as a boisterous, fighting, wrestling, swearing, hard-drinking, Indian-hating, blood-thirsty virago, intent only on killing Indians. This version of the story has persisted through the years, side by side with the softer nobler turn which was given to the story by Robb in 1861.

It seems a safe assumption that in the minds of Anne's contemporaries there must have been many questions concerning her. How does a woman scout dress, make camp, secure food? Above all, how does she escape the tomahawk of the redman? From question to conjecture, through oral repetition, the story is finally repeated to a writer possessed of imagination and skill, and a legend is born—or perhaps preserved.

gave a different turn to the Anne Bailey tradition. Not only did the story of the ride open a new and fertile field for imaginative writers, it also became necessary to fabricate for Anne a new personality—a personality suited to the role of heroine. And Anne became a gentler and nobler person. True, the desire for revenge persisted, but it was balanced by a passion for serving the settlers. Anne was described as adept at nursing and so devoted was she to the Kanawha Valley pioneers that she carried heavy packs of supplies to them from as far east as Staunton, Virginia.

The source of Robb's material was a story, told by a mountainer. Remembering that the Indians were threatening Fort Lee and recalling also William Clendenin's statement that Anne brought powder from Lewisburg, it is only one easy step for the imagination to bridge the gulf between fact and fancy and have Anne bring the powder when the fort was under siege and in desperate need. Association with the Betty Zane story may well have assisted in building up the tradition of the siege and ride.

Many literary influences can be detected in the telling and retelling of the tale. The decadent Romantic tendency to concentrate upon the occult, the strange, and the bizarre, has perhaps exerted the strongest single influence upon the story.

A minor classical strain, weak, but still evident, can be found in the names of the persons with whom Anne, in Chapter I, is compared. In this chapter also may be noted the early efforts of American writers to throw off the yoke of European domination of American literature, and Anne is compared, not to some queen of classical antiquity, but to Daniel Boone, and Davy Crockett of the Alamo.

Realism has played a part in the development of the tradition. Dr. Roy Bird Cook's work on the story is realistic to the point of iconoclasm. Some minor efforts at psychoanalysis has been found, some of fairly early date, and some more recent.

Women writers, while in a minority as to number, have exerted strong influence in the building of the tradition of Anne as a noble, religious woman whose strange career was motivated not so much by revenge as by a desire to be of service to the settlers.

In recent years, generally speaking, the tendency has been to consider Anne as a valuable border scout, using the term "alleged" when referring to the siege and ride. There are notable examples, however, of the tendency to glorify Anne, as the Ruth B. Scott story in *The Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 1953.

Also worthy of note is the growth of newspaper interest in the story in the last three decades. This reflects the continuing popular interest in, as well as the broadening of the scope of interest in materials covered by newspapers.

Literary interest in Anne is still strong. Published materials of a recent date may be cited as evidence of this fact. The work of Harry S. Irion on the story, and the plans of Sigmund A. Lavine to write a biography of Anne for juveniles may be offered as further proof that Anne Bailey still captures the minds and imagination of those who hear and read her story.

APPENDIX

ANNE BAILEY'S RIDE
A LEGEND OF THE KANAWHA

By Charles Robb, U. S. A.

(Copied from *Life and Times of Anne Bailey, the Pioneer Heroine of the Great Kanawha Valley* by Virgil A. Lewis. Charleston, West Virginia: The Butler Printing Company, 1891.)

The Army lay at Gauley Bridge,
 At Mountain Cove and Sewell Ridge;
 Our tents were pitched on hill and dell
 From Charleston Height to Cross Lane fell;
 Our camp-fires blazed on every route,
 From Red House point to Camp Lookout;
 On every rock our sentries stood,
 Our scouts held post in every wood,
 And every path was stained with blood
 From Scarey creek to Gauley flood.

'Twas on a bleak autumnal day,
 When not a single sunbeam's ray
 Could struggle through the dripping skies
 To cheer our melancholy eyes—
 Whilst heavy clouds, like funeral palls,
 Hung o'er Kanawha's foaming falls,
 And shrouded all the mountain green
 With dark, foreboding, misty screen.

All through the weary livelong day
 Our troops had marched the mountain way;
 And in the gloomy eventide
 Had pitched their tents by the river's side;
 And as the darkness settled o'er
 The hill and vale and river shore,
 We gathered round the camp-fire bright,
 That threw its glare on the misty night;
 And each some tale or legend told
 To while away the rain and cold.
 Thus, one a tale of horror told
 That made the very blood run cold;
 One spoke of suff'ring and of wrong;
 Another sang a mountain song;
 One spoke of home, and happy years,
 Till down his swarthy cheek the tears
 Slow dripping, glistened in the light
 That glared upon the misty night;
 While others sat in silence deep,
 Too sad for mirth, yet scorned to weep.

Then spake a hardy mountaineer—
 (His beard was long, his eye was clear;
 And clear his voice, of metal tone,
 Just such as all would wish to own)—

"I've heard a legend old," he said,
 "Of one who used these paths to tread
 Long years ago, when fearful strife
 Sad havoc made of human life;
 A deed of daring bravely done,
 A feat of honor nobly won;
 And what in story's most uncommon,
 An army saved by gentle woman.

" 'Twas in that dark and bloody time (1791)
 When savage craft and tory crime
 From Northern lake to Southern flood,
 Had drenched the western world with blood.
 And in this wild, romantic glen
 Encamped a host of savage men,
 Whose mad'ning war-whoop, loud and high,
 Was answered by the panther's cry.

"The pale-faced settlers all had fled,
 Or murdered were in lonely bed;
 Whilst hut and cabin, blazing high,
 With crimson decked the midnight sky.

"I said the settlers all had fled—
 Their pathway down the valley led
 To where the Elk's bright crystal waves
 On dark Kanawha's bosom laves,
 There safety sought, and respite brief,
 And in Fort Charleston found relief;
 Awhile they bravely met their woes,
 And kept at bay their savage foes.

"Thus days and weeks the warfare waged,
 In fury still the conflict raged;
 Still fierce and bitter grew the strife
 Where every foeman fought for life.
 Thus day by day the siege went on,
 Till three long, weary weeks were gone;
 And then the mournful word was passed
 That every day might be their last;
 The word was whispered soft and slow,
 The magazine was getting low.
 They loaded their rifles one by one,
 And then—the powder all was gone!
 They stood like men in calm despair,
 No friendly aid could reach them there;

Their doom was sealed, the scalping knife
And burning stake must end the strife.
One forlorn hope alone remained,
That distant aid might yet be gained
If trusty messenger should go
Through forest wild, and savage foe,
And safely there should bear report,
And succor bring from distant Fort.

But who should go—the venture dare?
The woodsmen quailed in mute despair,
In vain the call to volunteer;
The bravest blenched with silent fear.
Each gloomy brow and labored breath,
Proclaimed the venture worse than death.
Not long the fatal fact was kept;
But through the Fort the secret crept
Until it reached the ladies' hall,
There like a thunderbolt to fall.
Each in terror stood amazed,
And silent on the other gazed;
No word escaped—there fell no tear—
But all was hushed in mortal fear;
All hope of life at once had fled,
And filled each soul with nameless dread.
But one (Anne Bailey) who stood amid the rest,
The bravest, fairest, and the best
Of all that graced the cabin hall,
First broke the spell of terror's thrall.
Her step was firm, her features fine,
Of Mortal mould the most divine;
But why describe her graces fair,
Her form her mien, her stately air?
Nay, hold! my pen, I will not dare!
'Twas Heaven's image mirrored there.
She spoke no word, of fear, or boast,
But smiling, passed the sentry post;
And half in hope, and half in fear,
She whispered in her husband's ear,
The sacrifice her soul would make
Her friends to save from brand and stake.
A noble charger standing nigh,
Of spirit fine, and metal high,
Was saddled well, and girted strong,
With cord, and loop, and leatheren thong.
For her was led in haste from stall,
Upon whose life depended all.
Her friends she gave a parting brief,
No time was there for idle grief;

Her husband's hand a moment wrung,
 Then lightly to the saddle sprung;
 And followed by the prayers and tears,
 The kindling hopes, and boding fears
 Of those who seemed the sport of fate,
 She dashed beyond the op'ning gate;
 Like birdling free, on pinion light,
 Commenced her long and weary flight.

"The foemen saw the op'ning gate,
 And thought with victory elate
 To rush within the portal rude,
 And in his dark and savage mood
 To end the sanguinary strife
 With tomahawk and scalping-knife.
 But lo! a lady! fair and bright,
 And seated on a charger light,
 Bold—and free—as one immortal—
 Bounded o'er the op'ning portal.
 Each savage paused in mute surprise,
 And gazed with wonder-staring eyes;
 'A squaw! a squaw!', the chieftain cries,
 ('A squaw! a squaw!' the host replies;)
 Then order gave to 'cross the lawn
 With lightning speed and catch the fawn.'
 Her pathway up the valley led,
 Like frightened deer the charger fled,
 And urged along by whip and rein,
 The quick pursuit was all in vain,
 A hundred bended bows were sprung,
 A thousand savage echoes rung—
 But far too short the arrows fell
 All harmless in the mountain dell;
 'To horse! to horse!' the chieftain cried,
 They mount in haste and madly ride.
 Along the rough, uneven way,
 The pathway of the lady lay;
 Whilst long and loud the savage yell
 Re-echoed through the mountain dell.

She heeded not the danger rife,
 But rode as one who rides for life;
 Still onward in her course she bore
 Along the dark Kanawha's shore,
 Through tangled wood and rocky way,
 Nor paused to rest at close of day.
 Like skimming cloud before the wind
 Soon left the village far behind.
 From boundet tree above the road
 The flying charger wildly trode,

Amid the evening's gath'ring gloom,
The panther's shriek, the voice of doom
In terror fell upon the ear,
And quickened every pulse with fear.
But e'en the subtle panther's bound,
To reach his aim too slow was found;
And headlong falling on the rock,
Lay crushed and mangled in the shock.
The prowling wolf then scents his prey,
And rushing on with angry bay,
With savage growl and quickening bound
He clears the rough and rugged ground;
And closing fast the lessening space
That all too soon must end the race,
With sharpened teeth that glittered white
As stars amid the gloomy night—
With foaming jaws had almost grasped
The lovely hand that firmly clasped,
And well had used the whip and rein,
But further effort now were vain;
Another bound—a moment more—
And then the struggle all were o'er.

'Twas in a steep and rocky gorge
Along the river's winding verge,
Just where the foaming torrent falls
Far down through adamantine halls.
And then comes circling round and round,
As loath to leave the enchanted ground.
Just there a band of wand'ring braves
Had pitched their tents beside the waves.
The sun long since had sunk to rest,
And long the light had faded west—
When all were startled by the sound
Of howling wolf and courser's bound,
That onward came, with fearful clang,
Whose echoes round the mountain rang;
The frightened wolf in wild surprise
A moment paused—with glaring eyes
In terror gazed upon the flame.
Then backward fled the way he came.
Each wondering savage saw with fear
The charger come like frightened deer;
With weary gait, and heavy tramp,
The fuming steed dashed through the camp
And onward up the valley bear
His quenched rider, brave and fair,
Still on, and on, through pathless wood—
They swim the Gauley's swollen flood,

And climb Mount Tompkins' lofty brow,
More wild and rugged far than now,
Still onward held their weary flight
Beyond the Hawk's Nest's Giddy Height;
And often chased through lonely glen
By savage beast or savage men—
Thus like some weary, hunted dove
The woman sped through 'Mountain Cove,'
The torrent crossed without a bridge,
And scaled the heights of Sewell Ridge,
And still the wild, beleaguered road
With heavy tramp the charger trode,
Nor paused amid his weary flight
Throughout the long and dreary night.
And bravely rode the woman there,
Where few would venture, few would dare
Amid the cheering light of day
To tread the wild beleaguered way;
And as the morning sunbeams fall
Over hill and dale, and sylvan hall,
Far in the distance, dim and blue,
The friendly Fort (Lewisburg) arose to view,
Whose portal soon the maiden gains
With slackened speed and loosened reins
And voice whose trembling accents tell,
Of journey ridden long and well.

"The succor thus so nobly sought,
To Charleston Fort was timely brought;
Whilst Justice, on the scroll of fame,
In letters bold, engraved her name."

Galley Bridge, Va., Nov. 7, 1861.